

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Series A - No. 77  
Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics No. 11

# SOUTH-EAST ASIAN SYNTAX

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First Published 1989

Typeset by Ling Matsay

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

ISSN 0078-9178

ISBN 0 85883 379 4

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## INTRODUCTION

These five papers cover closely related aspects of South-East Asian syntax, based primarily on data from South-western Thai dialects, Kukish Tibeto-Burman languages, and Hmong. The first three exemplify aspects of syntax which are both typical of the linguistic area and often neglected, because they relate to discourse structure rather than just sentences in isolation. The last two explore clause structure, focusing on two specific languages; in the latter this is also placed in its areal context with numerous parallel examples from unrelated or distantly-related languages.

In Diller's paper the various tonal, vowel and initial alternatives for deictics in a Southern Thai dialect are explored in the context of their syntactic and semantic properties. Both Bickner and Hartmann-So explore the syntax of directional verbs. Bickner analyses the discourse function of the two main directionals in a Thai text. Hartmann-So describes the morphosyntax of this important areal phenomenon in a Chin language of Burma.

Chhangte gives a detailed description of main clause syntax in Mizo, which is closely related to the Daai Chin language described by Hartmann-So.

Finally, Clark gives detailed examples of the way Hmong (formerly Miao or Meo) follows the areal syntactic patterns of South-East Asia.

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## SOUTHERN THAI DEIXIS

Anthony Diller

‘Demonstrative elaboration’ was used by Sapir to refer to complex deictic systems in certain languages - systems which he said could lead to ‘an endless procession of nuances’ (1921:93, 108). He went on to observe that languages differ as to which deictic distinctions are obligatory or at least ‘very natural’, and the comparative impoverishment of English demonstratives and articles in this regard was noted. (We use *deixis* below to refer to such demonstrative categories, e.g., to spatial adverbials like *here* and *there* and to adjectival and pronominal forms like *this* and *that*; although *deixis* is sometimes also applied to tense phenomena and personal pronouns, those will not be dealt with here.)<sup>1</sup>

As though to constrain somewhat Sapir’s ‘endless procession’, recent cross-linguistic interest in deictic phenomena has led to a search for deictic generalisations and universal features. Such studies include the important general taxonomic proposals of Fillmore (1971; 1982), emphasising a two-way category system of syntactic functions and ‘distance contrasts’, the latter covering the familiar *proximal-(medial)-distal* distinctions made in many languages - but not in the same manner. The tendency of these distinctions to be coded through phonetic iconicity is also well-known (Tanz, 1971, 1980). A more diachronic-developmental approach has been taken by Lyons (1977, 1979), who suggests a quasi-derivational progression from what he calls ‘proto-reference’, including pointing gestures, through demonstratives, textual deixis and on to anaphors, articles and personal pronouns. Perhaps related to this progression are other proposed deictic features and contrasts, such as an *unemphatic/emphatic* distinction noted for Southern Sotho and earlier stages of Turkish (Anderson and Keenan, 1985) and the use of deictic forms to indicate *emotional closeness and distance*, as though through a metaphorical process related to spatial distance (R. Lakoff, 1974).

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David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11:  
*South-East Asian syntax*, 1-14. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989.

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In the following sections we turn to a deictic system that Sapir would probably have considered 'demonstrative elaboration'. We present evidence suggesting that the deictic forms under review operate as two separate but linked subsystems, along with another series of reduced forms. The main subsystems are separate along both formal and functional lines, although there is a certain functional overlap. Of the proposed approaches noted above, no one of them alone adequately accounts for the structure of the total deictic system under review below, although taken as a whole these studies suggest most of the relevant categories and contrasts needed to clarify how the system is constituted and operates.

The deictic system described is that of a representative rural Southern Thai dialect (i.e. of *Pak Tay*, as the dialect group is called locally); the variety discussed here is spoken in the Sathing Phra District of Songkhla Province.<sup>2</sup> General features of the dialect, including sociolinguistic background, have been described elsewhere (Diller, 1979a). For purposes here it is sufficient to note that the seven-tone system is represented by paired subscript numbers (one to five) suggesting relative pitch and contour; this follows the practice of Li (1977:5).<sup>3</sup> Absence of a subscript of this sort indicates an unstressed variable-pitch syllable, not unlike the so-called 'neutral tone' of Mandarin Chinese.

## 1. Deictic forms

Deictic forms for Sathing Phra Southern Thai as encountered in recorded conversations and colloquial texts can be represented paradigmatically as in Figure 1.<sup>4</sup> Out of the thirty-three forms, two perhaps have a somewhat marginal status, being regarded by some speakers as 'very impolite' or even as 'sub-linguistic' exclamations (note Lyons' 'proto-reference'); these forms are represented in parentheses. Not indicated in Figure 1 are interrogative and indefinite forms which clearly have a close relationship, e.g. *day*<sub>24</sub> 'which', *nay*<sub>55</sub> 'where', etc. Glosses for sets of forms in Figure 1 are suggested in Figure 2; these should be taken as only very loose approximations for convenience, pending fuller discussion below.

Considerable allomorphy or near allomorphy characterises Figure 1. This is partly a matter of free variation and partly variation conditioned by environment. Such alternation is to be distinguished from more substantive morphophonemic or morphosyntactic relationships which code distinctive semantic, pragmatic and syntactic information as discussed below. Allomorphy has been observed only among items with the same vowel and tone, and is of two sorts. (i.) The initial *h*- often occurs as an apparently free variant of initials *d*- and *n*-, as in forms such as *de*:<sub>31</sub> / *he*:<sub>31</sub> '(look) here!' and *na*:<sub>n31</sub> / *ha*:<sub>n31</sub> '(look) there!'.<sup>5</sup> For Group II in Figure 1, the column-4 variants in *h*- often (but not invariably) have weaker stress than do their column-3 counterparts in *n*-; such weaker-stress forms - especially *han*<sub>43</sub> 'that' - are far more common than their *n*- counterparts in narrative texts. (ii.) Forms in final -*m* sometimes occur as optional variants for items with back vowels (vowels which code, as we see below, a distinction of 'relatively distal'); -*m* is most common utterance-final or in other pre-pausal contexts. Thus, at least for Groups I and II, columns 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8, can be taken as variants of other preceding columns, substantially reducing the total system.

	proximal		medial		distal			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I.	<i>(de:55)</i>	<i>(he:55)</i>	-	-	<i>do:55</i>	<i>do:m55</i>	<i>ho:55</i>	<i>ho:m55</i>
	<i>de:24</i>	-	-	-	<i>do:24</i>	-	-	-
	<i>de:31</i>	<i>he:31</i>	<i>na:n31</i>	<i>ha:n31</i>	<i>do:31</i>	<i>do:m31</i>	<i>ho:31</i>	<i>ho:m31</i>
II.	<i>ni:22</i>	-	<i>nan22</i>	<i>han22</i>	<i>nu:22</i>	-	-	-
	<i>ni:43</i>	-	<i>nan43</i>	<i>han43</i>	<i>nu:43</i>	-	-	-
	<i>ni:21</i>	-	<i>nan21</i>	<i>han21</i>	<i>nu:21</i>	-	-	-
III.	<i>-ni</i>	-	-	<i>-an</i>	-	-	<i>-o</i>	-
IV.	<i>niʔ5</i>	-	-	-	<i>nuʔ5</i>	<i>num5(5)</i>	-	-

Figure 1. Southern Thai (Sathing Phra) deictic forms.

	proximal 1,2	medial 3,4	distal 5,6,7,8
I.	(Look/come) here!	(Look/go) there!	(Look/go) right over there!
II.	(Around) here	Thereabouts	(Somewhere) over there
	This (one) here	That (one) there	That (one) over there
	This (way)	That (way)	That (former or removed way)
III.	The (item just mentioned)	The (item)	The (former item)
IV.	(Final assertion particles ; see text.)		

Figure 2. Preliminary glosses for Figure 1

## 2. Phonological organisation

Allomorphy involving *h*-variants mentioned above is part of a more general phonological organisation among the deictic forms. Figure 3 reorganises data in Figure 1 so as to bring out more clearly phonological relationships between the two deictic groups labelled I and II, although some detail (especially of non-occurrence) is not indicated. Note the complementarity between tones (indicated at the extreme right of Figure 3) on the one hand, and vowel height on the other: high vowels characterise the *proximal* and *distal* forms for Group II, while corresponding forms in Group I show mid-vowels. A separate distinction, that of vowel length, applies to differentiate the *medial* forms of the two groups. Not shown directly in Figure 3 is a similar stress distinction (stress in this dialect should be considered secondary or non-contrastive): forms in Group I are always fully stressed; moreover they usually constitute the stress peak of the sentence or utterance unit in which they occur. Stress features of Groups II and IV are variable; and Group III postclitics are regularly unstressed.

The parallel separation of Groups I and II is reinforced by the distribution of initial consonants, with a homorganic (i.e. alveolar) nasal / voiced stop alternation associated with the high / mid-vowel contrast noted above. The clear impression is that of two separate but 'phonologically interactive' subsystems. It remains to note that residual forms of Figure 1, those of Groups III and IV, are clearly phonological reductions of forms in the first two primary groups. Group III forms are unstressed postclitics, while Group IV show shortened vowels and occur in the manner of final particles.

	proximal	medial	distal	TONES
Group I	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           d- h- -e:         </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           n- h- -a:n         </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           d- h- -o:(m)         </div>	55, 24, 31
Group II	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           n- -i:         </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           n- h- -an         </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           n- -u:         </div>	22, 43, 21
		(lenition)		
Group III	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-ni</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-an</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-o</div>	

Figure 3. Phonological organisation of deictic forms.

### 3. Spatial distinctions

The terms *proximal*, *medial* and *distal* have been used above to suggest a three-way spatial distinction based on relative distance from speaker. It is important to note that for Southern Thai varieties this is mainly a speaker-centric system, not making direct reference to the addressee; hence it is more like the spatial deictics described for Spanish, etc., and less like the three-term systems of Japanese, etc., where closeness to addressee is a determinant (Anderson and Keenan, 1985:282-4).

As in other three-term systems, relative 'contrastive proximity' rather than absolute distance is important; thus one could hardly specify an exact objective measure for how the terms are applied. (Speakers however have suggested that *distal* items would normally be beyond the distance of convenient immediate retrieval, hence at least a stone's throw away.) Also not of significance here is the *visible/invisible* distinction found in some languages: in particular distal forms like *do:31*, *nu:43*, etc., can refer to items or to spatial locations either in or out of sight (compare examples [12] and [14] below). The preceding comments apply mainly to Groups I and II in Figure 1. Groups III and IV do not regularly refer to physical space; rather they have discourse-related functions mentioned below.

Group I items are frequently accompanied by facial pointing or other direct gestures. For these locative expressions quite specific, delimited areas are indicated. This can contrast in a loose way with certain items in Group II, particularly those with tone 22, where local reference is less highly focused. An important effect of this is that Group I forms are reported to be 'less polite' and less appropriate for use in conversation to seniors or persons held in respect than items in Group II would be. Group I forms are very frequently used by adults to children, and used by children among themselves at play in peer groups.

- |                              |                            |                          |                              |                            |                          |                         |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| [1] <i>kin</i> <sub>24</sub> | <i>kha:w</i> <sub>43</sub> | <i>de:</i> <sub>31</sub> | [2] <i>kin</i> <sub>24</sub> | <i>kha:w</i> <sub>43</sub> | <i>ni:</i> <sub>22</sub> | <i>ta?</i> <sub>3</sub> |
| eat                          | rice                       | (right) here             | eat                          | rice                       | here                     | IMP-PCL                 |

Both [1] and [2] might translate into English as: 'Eat here'. However [1] would be appropriate as a command to a child, to eat in the spot indicated, while [2] would be appropriate while urging an adult guest to stay for a meal. In [2] 'here' is in the sense of 'at our place here,' but does not refer to a precise spot.

It would perhaps be more accurate to label the *medial* items instead as *neutral*. That is, they appear to function partly as a default category when neither particular distance nor particular proximity to speaker is to be highlighted. It is interesting that this analysis is supported by the formal organisation of the deictic paradigm as summarised in Figure 3; that is, the *medial* forms are set off formally somewhat from the *proximal* and *distal* ones.

Iconic phonological coding of spatial deictic distinctions has been discussed at length by Tanz (1971). Although she does not treat three-place systems directly, it is clear that the Southern Thai forms follow one general coding universal she proposes: if /i/ and /a/ code distance paradigmatically, then /i/ codes relative proximity. We have seen that for the data at hand the principle can be extended so that the *front*, *central*, *back* classification of vowel position more generally codes the near-to-far distance continuum.

#### 4. Syntactic classes and discourse functions

In terms of establishing syntactic classes and other co-occurrence patterns for the forms in Figure 1, tone is of major importance. Forms with the same tone (i.e. in the same row in Figure 1) regularly show identical syntactic properties. There is also a degree of syntactic overlap among certain classes; this suggests the following loose ranking. (DX is used below as a cover symbol for deictic forms.)

##### GROUP I

- tones 55, 24 - emphatic adverb with imperative force; common in isolation ('Here!' etc.); some forms considered rude.
- tone 31 - (i.) *idem.*; (considered less abrupt than above forms)
- (ii.) possible also as nominal modifier: e.g., as DX where NP = N + DX

##### GROUP II

- tone 22 - (i.) independent (relatively 'unfocused') locative adverb ('here, hereabouts,' etc.);
- (ii.) locative modifier in noun phrase, e.g. after noun *the:22* 'place' (as in *the:22-ni:22* 'here')
- tone 43 - (i.) independent demonstrative or demonstrative-anaphoric pronoun ('this one', etc.)
- (ii.) nominal demonstrative-anaphoric modifier, regularly used in classifier constructions: e.g., as DX where NP = N + CLF + DX ('this N', etc.)
- (iii.) independent locative adverb (with marked contrastive or corrective force)
- tone 21 - nominal demonstrative modifier regularly used in manner noun phrases, e.g. after the noun *phan<sub>31</sub>* 'way, manner' (as in *phan<sub>31</sub>-ni:21* 'thus')

##### GROUP III

- neutral tone - postclitic form attached to noun phrases to mark definiteness or topicality

##### GROUP IV

- final particles - pre-pausal, to mark connected assertion.

The preceding list, which follows the ordering in Figures 1-3, represents a loose progression from (I) emphatic-imperative adverbs through (II) normal and contrastive locative adverbs, adverbial nominals, and on through demonstrative pronominals and demonstrative adjectival forms; then follow (III) clitics and (IV) particles. Paralleling the syntactic progression is a shift in illocutionary function from emphatic (usually gestural and sometimes rude) quasi-imperative forms, on to more general spatial deixis and through other types of demonstrative and anaphoric

reference; finally on to forms used to mark discourse functions of topicality, definite anaphora and assertion.

The forms in Group I frequently occur on their own in discourse with a clear imperative function: the speaker wants listener(s) to move somewhere or to look somewhere. The forms are almost always accompanied by manual or facial pointing, or at least imply that the listener(s) should follow the gaze of the speaker. Forms with tone 24 are most often commands to come or go. Those with tone 55, often articulated in falsetto with emphatic stress, are urgent commands to look. Tone 31 forms, which are less emphatic or marked than the others, have been observed in both 'look' and 'come/go' functions and in addition can take a quasi-object NP as in [5].

- [3] *de*<sub>24</sub>. [4] *doi*<sub>55</sub>.  
(Come) here! (Look) over there!
- [5] *de*<sub>31</sub> *mit*<sub>22</sub>.  
DX knife  
Here, see - the knife. [After searching.]

Forms with tones 24 or 31 (less frequently 55) may occur in imperative sentences after main verbs of looking or moving [6], [7]. Tone 31 forms may occur with other verbs more generally in imperative sentences with a strong local focus [1]. Declarative or interrogative utterances with these forms would be unusual and highly-marked [8].

- [6] *pay*<sub>24</sub> *do*<sub>31</sub>.  
go DX  
Go over there!
- [7] *ma*<sub>31</sub> *de*<sub>24</sub>.  
come DX  
Come here!
- [8] *\*[khaw*<sub>55</sub> *ma*<sub>31</sub> *de*<sub>24</sub> *ma*<sub>43</sub>.]  
3P come DX Q-PCL  
Are they coming here?

Final imperative particles *ta*<sub>3</sub> and *thi*<sub>31</sub> occur regularly with verbs of controlled action [9].

- [9] *ma*<sub>24</sub> *ta*<sub>3</sub>.  
come IMP-PCL  
Come.

It is interesting that such particles, which in effect convert implicit declaratives to marked imperatives, are not used with deictic forms in Group I, and in fact presence of such forms appears to block the particles [10], [11]. This may be interpreted, along with [8], as evidence that (i.) these deictic forms are not true verbs (for which there is ample additional evidence, such as their inability to occur with auxiliaries); (ii.) imperative illocutionary force is already 'lexically inherent' in these forms and so further marking with imperative particles is inappropriate.

However sometimes, as in [12], a declarative sentence is given an emphatic quasi-imperative closure.

[10] \*[de:<sub>24</sub> ta?<sub>3</sub>.]

[11] \*[ma:<sub>31</sub> de:<sub>24</sub> ta?<sub>3</sub>.]

[12] pay<sub>24</sub> ba:n<sub>33</sub> ti:n<sub>24</sub> do:<sub>55</sub>.  
go village foot/north DX  
She went to the village up north - way up *there*. [Gesturing.]

A frequent use for the medial tone 31 form is to warn [13].

[13] ha:n<sub>31</sub> hu:<sub>31</sub>.  
DX snake  
There's a snake (- Look out!)

In natural discourse contexts, Group I forms may 'set the state' for a statement, as in [14].

[14] do:<sub>31</sub>, do:<sub>31</sub>, ma:<sub>31</sub> le:w<sub>21</sub>.  
DX DX come already  
There, see - they're coming. [Looking up road as friends approach.]

Turning to Group II forms, we find that tones 22 and 43 can also support spatial adverbs, with or without a locative nominal head; see also [2]. (When such a nominal head is used, there is tight compounding; e.g., there is some reduction of length and stress in the first syllable; this is suggested informally below by hyphenation.) In this locative function, tone 22 forms are neutral and tone 43 more 'emphatic', but in a sense which clearly differs from the 'emphasis' described above for Group I forms. Tone 43 deixis in locative function is normally corrective or contrastive. Also, as noted in the previous section, local reference with Group II forms need not be to a specific focused point in the environment, as is common for Group I, but may refer, say, to an entire domestic compound, village or even more extensive geographical area.

[15] man<sub>55</sub> yo:<sub>24</sub> ni:<sub>22</sub>.  
3P stay DX  
She lives here. [In this village.]

[16] man<sub>55</sub> yo:<sub>24</sub> the:<sub>22</sub>ni:<sub>22</sub>.  
3P stay place-DX  
She lives here.

[17] man<sub>55</sub> yo:<sub>24</sub> ni:<sub>43</sub>.  
3P stay DX  
She lives *here*. [Correcting.]

Similarly, example [18] occurred as a speaker was describing her deranged daughter who had been dressing in a strange fashion. The speaker repeatedly demonstrated the odd ways of wearing clothing, pointing to her own body for reference, using deictic forms with tone 43.



- [18] *nuŋ*<sub>22</sub> *sua*<sub>43</sub> *khe:n*<sub>55</sub> *ya:w*<sub>31</sub> *thiam*<sub>22</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub>,  
 wear shirt arm long equal DX  
*thuŋ*<sub>55</sub> *kaʔ*<sub>3</sub> *thuŋ*<sub>55</sub> *nɔ:n*<sub>31</sub> *kluam*<sub>24</sub> *thiam*<sub>22</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub>...  
 then and sarong recline cover equal DX

She wore a shirt with long sleeves down to **here** [*points on self*] and over that her sleeping sarong up to **here** [*points*]...

Example [18] raises a question as to why more highly focused emphatic-imperative forms of Group I (perhaps *de:*<sub>55</sub> or *de:*<sub>31</sub>) were not used instead, since there was direct pointing and specific local points were indicated. Native speakers present when [18] occurred later explained why they felt that *ni:*<sub>43</sub> was more appropriate than *de:*<sub>31</sub> would have been for [18]: the speaker *already* had the attention of the listeners and effectively controlled their gaze. It was not necessary to request a *shift* of their their attention to something else; therefore Group II emphatic spatial deixis with tone 43 was the appropriate selection.

In some contexts 'double deixis' is possible, with Group I forms regularly first (as though to gain attention and direct gaze), followed by Group II (as though to make a demonstrative referential assertion).

- [19] *de:*<sub>31</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub>.  
 DX DX  
 This one *here*. [Pointing.]
- [20] *do:*<sub>31</sub> *khway*<sub>31</sub> *nu:*<sub>43</sub>.  
 DX fire DX  
 The flame over *there*.

While forms with tone 22 are virtually always locative in function, the normal (non-emphatic) use of tone 43 forms is as demonstrative modifiers, or as independent demonstrative pronouns [19]. As demonstrative modifiers tone 43 forms most frequently occur after classifiers or nominals which do not require separate classifiers (CLF below; *nuay*<sub>55</sub> is a common Southern Thai classifier for fruits, solid portable items, etc.).

- [21] *kin*<sub>24</sub> *nuay*<sub>55</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub> *taʔ*<sub>3</sub>.  
 eat CLF DX IMP-PCL  
 Eat this one.

Tone 21 forms occur most commonly after *phan*<sub>31</sub> 'way, manner'. A frequent discourse function is the cataphoric indication of following discourse material [22].

- [22] *man*<sub>55</sub> *le:*<sub>55</sub> *phan*<sub>31</sub>-*ni:*<sub>21</sub>.  
 3P speak like-DX  
 He spoke like this. [In a narrative; quotation follows.]

If manner or method of a located procedure is actually being demonstrated, the speaker has the option of using a Group I form (instead of) a Group II, item to command the listener's attention [23].

- [23] *phan*<sub>31</sub> *de:*<sub>31</sub> *phan*<sub>31</sub> *de:*<sub>31</sub>.  
 like DX like DX  
 Look - this way, this way!

By contrast, Group I forms are not used for anaphora or discourse topicalisation, whereas these are common functions for Group II and III forms. Group III unstressed postclitic forms ([25], [27]) are clearly reductions of Group II ones; the latter, (stressed) impart a stronger degree of topicalisation, as suggested – quite imperfectly – in glosses for the following examples ([24], [26]). Group III forms, on the other hand, particularly *-an*, seem to approach a definite article in discourse function, although they would not perhaps be obligatory in the sense that definite articles normally are. These forms attach to the last item in a noun phrase.

- [24] *nuay*<sub>55</sub> *ʔiat*<sub>33</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub> *ku:*<sub>24</sub> *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *ʔaw*<sub>24</sub> *leʔ*<sub>1</sub>.  
 CLF small DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL  
 This small one here, I don't want (to buy it).  
 [25] *nuay*<sub>55</sub> *ʔiat*<sub>33</sub>-*ni* *ku:*<sub>24</sub> *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *ʔaw*<sub>24</sub> *leʔ*<sub>1</sub>.  
 CLF small-DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL  
 The small one here I don't want (to buy).  
 [26] *nuay*<sub>55</sub> *ʔiat*<sub>33</sub> *han*<sub>43</sub> *ku:*<sub>24</sub> *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *ʔaw*<sub>24</sub> *leʔ*<sub>1</sub>.  
 CLF small DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL  
 That small one there, I don't want (to buy it).  
 [27] *nuay*<sub>55</sub> *ʔiat*<sub>33</sub>-*an* *ku:*<sub>24</sub> *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *ʔaw*<sub>24</sub> *leʔ*<sub>1</sub>.  
 CLF small-DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL  
 The small one I don't want (to buy).

Group III forms (but only rarely Group II and never Group I) can attach to personal pronouns [28]; also Group III may attach to Group II, giving another sort of double deixis [29], [30].

- [28] *phuak*<sub>22</sub> *raw*<sub>31</sub>-*an* *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *ro:*<sub>21</sub> *ray*<sub>55</sub>.  
 group 1PPL-DX not know anything  
 Us? -we don't know anything about it.  
 [29] *ʔay-phuak*<sub>22</sub> *ni:*<sub>43</sub>-*an* *ma:*<sub>43</sub> *chap*<sub>1</sub>.  
 DERROG-group DX-DX not firm  
 These damned ones here, they're are not strong enough.  
 [30] *rua*<sub>33</sub> *han*<sub>43</sub>-*an* *pay*<sub>24</sub> *may*<sub>43</sub> *thuŋ*<sub>55</sub>.  
 boat DX-DX go not reach  
 [An old boat mentioned...] You couldn't get there in *that* boat.

To be distinguished from Group III postclitics is another reduced series, the final particles of Group IV. A full treatment of the discourse functions of these forms is beyond present scope. The most common function of the proximal particle *niʔ<sub>5</sub>* is to mark a declarative assertion which is to be taken as providing a reason, excuse or similar rejoinder to a previous speaker's utterance. Other functions of Group IV particles are similarly involved with asserting new information in an 'interactive' mode relating to prior discourse, and as such they do not co-occur with question or imperative particles. (They do however frequently occur with other assertion particles, e.g., *leʔ<sub>1</sub>*, *na<sub>5</sub>*, etc., which follow the Group IV forms.)

- [31] *ku:24 cəp3 mu:31 niʔ5*  
 1PSG sore hand DX  
 [Asked why not working...] My hand hurts.

- [32] *rot1 khan31 na:43 tit3 niʔ5*  
 car CLF head stick DX  
 [Conversation as to why the bus has stopped. After looking out window...]  
 The traffic up ahead is at a standstill.

- [33] *ku:24 ʔi:33 pay24 pi:24 ni:43 niʔ5*  
 1PSG IRLS go year DX DX  
 [Asked why a visit to a distant relative's has been postponed...]  
 I *am* going - later this year.

## 5. Summary

The preceding sections have shown a deictic system with rather widespread allomorphy (mainly free) involving d/h- and n/h- alternations, and two quite sharply differentiated but paradigmatically linked deictic series. These series show organisation through two types of phonological iconicity.

- (i) A proximal - medial (or neutral) - distal spatial distinction is coded through vowel position (front - central - back).
- (ii) A syntactic-illocutionary progression (perhaps 'strong' to 'weak') through syntactically-defined sets, each with specific discourse functions; this is coded through:
  - (a) decreasing stress;
  - (b) a stop-to-nasal-to-zero initial consonant sequence;
  - (c) a fixed sequence of six (of the total seven) lexical tones, plus a neutral tone; tone thus discretely codes syntactic and discourse functions.

The schema of (i) accords with general tendencies in phonological iconicity (Tanz, 1971). The syntactic and functional categories of (ii) point to similar progressions proposed by Fillmore (1971, 1982) and Lyons (1977, 1979), but this must be supplemented with a notion of 'emphatic' deixis (using the term of Anderson and Keenan, 1985). However for Southern Thai at least two types of 'emphasis' must be differentiated, and the term is perhaps not so illuminating.

It remains to observe that this deictic system is considerably more complex than those reported generally for Tai varieties; Li (1977:111), for example, reconstructs only two deictic forms for Proto-Tai. Other features of the system are odd: elsewhere in the grammar of Southern Thai dialects (and in Tai more widely) tone scarcely ever regularly codes syntactic function<sup>6</sup>. Except in deictic systems, complex paradigmatic organisation is lacking. Nor is there much allomorphic alternation, and none has been observed elsewhere in the language among the particular segmentals involved in the deictic allomorphy. All of this sets the deictic forms off rather sharply as a subsystem from other more general grammatical processes of the language.

Diachronic proposals for how the Southern Thai deictic system may have evolved are beyond our present scope; answers might lie in a combination of several factors: (i) very limited dialect borrowing - e.g., the tone 22 locative forms conceivably could have been analogically created or transformed from Central Thai locative falling-tone items (Diller, 1979a), although there is little evidence for this beyond these forms being considered relatively 'polite'; (ii) paradigmatic analogical spreading, probably accounting for *h*- allomorphs; (iii) a considerably richer deictic system for Proto-Tai than has been previously supposed.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was presented to the Australian Linguistic Society, Adelaide, 1986; a more formative presentation was made in the seminar series of the Linguistics Department, Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, in 1985. I am indebted to Dr Marybeth Clark, Dr Tom Dutton and Professor E.M. Uhlenbeck for helpful comments.
- <sup>2</sup> The Thai National Research Council and the Southern Thai Cultural Institute, under Professor Suthiwong Phongphaibun (Sri Nakharinwirot University, Songkhla) have kindly facilitated field research for this paper, which was supported by an Outside Studies grant from the Australian National University, as well as funding from the Australian Research Grants Scheme. My special thanks go to Achan Sutira Wacharaboworn and to Khun Jaroon Kanchanaphen and other friends at Ban Kradang Nga, Sathing Phra, who provided spontaneous conversational material and assisted in transcriptions which have provided the examples cited in this paper.
- <sup>3</sup> This numbering system is to be understood as merely a 'practical diacritic device' showing lexical tone (and ignoring tonal sandhi phenomena). It is thus intended neither as a direct acoustic index nor necessarily as a statement of abstract tonal phonology (see Rose, 1986, for acoustic analysis of similar tonal system; see Diller 1979b for discussion of phonological complementarity among tones and segmentals). In particular items with the tone marked 55 here, if said in isolation or under stress, have a high-rising-falling contour, with over-all pitch higher than the figures might suggest. Under the same conditions the tone marked 24 here actually falls slightly, while that marked 22 slightly rises for most speakers (a level citation form being more characteristic of the town of Songkhla). Tai correspondence categories (Li, 1977; with H.M. and L. referring to 'High', 'Mid' and 'Low' orthographic-etymological classes) are realised as follows: A1(H)+B1(H)=55; D1(H, short)=5; C1(H)+D1(H, long)=43;

A1(M)+B1(M)=24; C1(M)+D1(M, long)=33; D1(M, short)=3; A2(L)=31; B2(L)+D2(L, long)=22; C2(L)=21; D2(L, short)=1.

- 4 Some of these forms, e.g. *han*<sub>43</sub>, *de*<sub>34</sub>, *ho*<sub>55</sub>, etc., have been reported in the Southern Thai Dictionary of Suthiwong Phongphaibun et. al. (1982), using a slightly different system of tonal notation. In a few cases the tone categories reported there differ from those represented in Figure 1 (e.g. a form equivalent to *do*<sub>33</sub> is cited: I did not happen to encounter this particular item in Sathing Phra). There is undoubtedly local variation in the detail of Southern Thai deictic systems. The Dictionary for example reports forms equivalent to *ne*<sub>31</sub>, *no*<sub>31</sub>; these forms appear to be the Nakhon Srithammarat (etc.) items corresponding to Sathing Phra (etc.) *de*<sub>31</sub>, *do*<sub>31</sub> as on Figure 1.
- 5 But not always. For example: *ma*<sub>31</sub> *de*<sub>24</sub> 'come here'; but not apparently *ma*<sub>31</sub> *he*<sub>24</sub>. Blank spaces in Table 1 indicate 'confirmed non-existence' as reported by speakers offered such forms for comment.
- 6 A phonological anomaly occurs in Group I forms, where the initial d- occurs with tones 55 and 31. Otherwise voiced stops are virtually restricted to tones 24 and 33 (the etymological 'Mid' tone class; see Diller 1979b:121-2). In other Southern Thai dialects n-, which regularly occurs with tones 55 and 31, corresponds to d- in the deictic forms; see note 4.

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# DIRECTIONAL MODIFICATION IN THAI FICTION: THE USE OF 'COME' AND 'GO' IN TEXT BUILDING

Robert J. Bickner

## INTRODUCTION

When we listen to speech we are not just decoding a single melodic line of sound, we are responding to a complicated harmony of several different kinds of signal all reaching the ear at the same time. When speech is written down in print most of the harmony is left out, but the reader is able to feed it back again because he 'knows the language'.

Edmund Leach (1971:146)

Every learner of a second language has experienced the frustration of not being able to understand a given utterance, or a passage in a text, even after carefully translating every word in it. Students of literature are often similarly frustrated because their laborious efforts at translation produce a dull and lifeless text; they know what the author has written, but not why he or she has bothered to write it in the first place. The crucial factor is, of course, that the non-native speaker doesn't 'know the language', in the way that Leach uses that phrase. The non-native speaker doesn't know what sort of signals to listen for, and cannot feed the harmony back into the written word to bring it to life. True comprehension eludes even the most diligent student until he or she knows which elements of the language under study are manipulated by native speakers in order to create coherence and texture, to create 'harmony'. And only after those elements are identified can the student begin to master them.

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David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11:  
*South-East Asian syntax*, 15-79. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989

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This study is an examination of one element of the Thai language that is available for exploitation in text building, but that is usually overlooked by the native speaker of English trying to master Thai. That element is the use of the Thai equivalents of the English verbs 'come' *maa* and 'go' *pay*, and the discussion will show how the unit of contrasting meaning formed by *pay* and *maa* is available for manipulation in text building, and that that unit is part of the 'harmony' of the Thai language that native speakers of Thai use to give texts life and power. Of course, not all Thai authors exploit this feature of the language, and of those who do, not all do so to the same extent. But the discussion will show that the manipulation is there, and that a native speaker of English who wishes to understand the workings of Thai prose must be sensitive to it in order not to miss at least part of the expressive power of Thai.

It is assumed here that the use of any element of a language in normal conversation is more basic than the use of that feature in literary work. If one is to explain how a piece of literature 'works' one must first study the various elements under consideration as they appear in the spontaneous conversation of competent native speakers of that particular language. The insight gained by that study can then be applied to the more contrived realm of literature. Thus the first section of this paper is a brief discussion of the uses of *pay* and *maa* in everyday conversational Thai, both in terms of deixis, and in more traditional terms as well. Both approaches will be of use for the analysis of the text under study. The second section is a detailed consideration of a Thai language short story which was selected because it makes extensive use of *pay* and *maa* and therefore is a convenient item for study.

Appendix I is a copy of the complete text of the story entitled 'Jaemnapha' by Chuwong Chayajinda, which first appeared in a collection of stories entitled *Phuang Chom Phuu* (1962). This version is from *Introduction to Thai literature*, edited by Robert B. Jones, et al. (1970).

This study deals with points that can only be appreciated by examining a text as a complete entity, and so a translation of the entire short story has been given in Appendix II. The translation is intended to be as natural as possible so that the feeling of the original might be conveyed correctly. In places, however, the reader will see that the wording of the Thai text has influenced vocabulary selection and phrasing in the translation, especially in places in which comparison of a free translation and a word-by-word gloss would be confusing. In each such case the translation provided tries to be more faithful to the sense of the Thai than to the dictates of English usage.

Appendix III is a word-by-word gloss of the relevant passages in the original, and the English translation of those passages. The passages cited are full sentences, clauses, or sometimes phrases, depending on how well the relevant portion can be isolated without distorting the significance of the word selection in the original. It should be noted that some words from the Thai original are given several different English glosses, depending on the sentence in which the word appears. In most cases this represents a change in meaning required by changes in the context, but in others it represents a felt need to avoid repetition found in the original which would make for an awkward translation. In either case care was taken to try to avoid distortion of the sense of the Thai wording.

The story has been divided into five more or less arbitrary scenes, mainly to break up the original text into convenient blocks for discussion. The divisions conform roughly to changes in



the location of the action, with the exception that scenes 2 and 3 are separated only by the passing of a rather long period of time.

Items discussed in the paper are numbered in sequence according to their position in the original Thai text. In those cases in which *pay* or *maa* translate directly into the English verbs 'go' or 'come', the number has been placed in brackets immediately after that verb. In other cases English requires a preposition, or some other lexical item, and in still other cases no single English word takes the place of *pay* or *maa*; in such cases the number is usually placed after the main verb of the English construction or, where no verb is used in the English translation, after the word which most clearly conveys the meaning of the entire construction in the original. This method was decided upon in order to emphasise the essentially verbal nature of the two Thai words.

The phonetic transcription system used in this study is that developed by J. Marvin Brown for his *AUA Language Center Thai Course*.

### Part I preliminary discussion of *pay* and *maa*.

The Thai verbs of motion, *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come', are in many ways equivalent to their English counterparts. In ordinary literal usage, the two words in each language designate motion either toward or away from a reference point, and the speaker's choice of one word or the other depends largely on his or her location, either at the moment of speaking, or at some other moment referred to in that speech. Both English and Thai also make use of the two words figuratively in a variety of ways that are based ultimately on their use in ordinary literal speech.

A great deal of attention has been given recently to studies of deixis, and this approach is as helpful in a study of Thai as it is in a study of English. However, deictic analysis does not directly address the use of *pay* and *maa* in text building, and so the present study will approach the subject from two points of view. First, analysis of *pay* and *maa* as deictic verbs will be summarised, because this provides a good illustration of the general constraints under which the words are used in individual utterances. Studies by Fillmore (e.g. 1966, 1972) and Clark (1974) set out deictic constraints while concentrating on English. Gandour (1978) summarises points from those studies and also expands on Clark's work while concentrating on Thai. Second, analysis of the words on more traditional lines places them in the context of the larger Thai system, essential for a study of their function on the text level. Noss (1964) provides this analysis. Given below is a very brief summary of points that are relevant to the use of *pay* and *maa* in Thai text building.

In summarising points made by Fillmore (1966, 1972), Gandour points out the validity for Thai of the concept of deictic centre (although he notes a difference in the English and Thai constraints), and of the term 'speaker-addressee deixis' used to refer to motion relative to the speaker's location or deictic center. The following sentences are given as illustrations of the Thai pattern. Gandour notes that a sentence like (1d) is ungrammatical in Thai because 'the destination of *maa* 'come' may only be the speaker's location at either the time of the utterance or the time referred to in it (Gandour 1978: 382-383).

- |                                   |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| (1) a. <i>phǒm ca pay thîinân</i> | I will go there. |
| *b. <i>phǒm ca pay thîinîi</i>    | I will go here.  |

- |                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| c. <i>phỏm ca maa thĩnĩ</i>   | I will come here.  |
| *c. <i>phỏm ca maa thĩnĩn</i> | I will come there. |

Clark (1974), refers to discussions by Fillmore on the English deictic verbs 'come' and 'go', pointing out

that the main difference between 'come' and 'go' lies in the goal or destination of the motion. In what has been called speaker-addressee deixis, the destination of 'come' may be the speaker's or the addressee's location at either the time of the utterance or the time referred to in it (Fillmore 1972)... The destination of 'go', on the other hand, is specified simply as somewhere other than where the speaker is at the time of the utterance... 'Come' is always interpreted as having a 'positive' or known destination (the deictic center itself), but 'go' always has its destination negatively specified (Clark 1974: 316).

It is speaker-addressee deixis that is most significant for the short story studied here, and as the analysis will show, the destination of 'go' is often made clear, and has great significance for the reader's interpretation of the story.

Clark discusses 'come' and 'go' in idiomatic uses referring not to motion, but to change of state in what is known as 'normal-state deixis'. The hypothesis is that for such idiomatic uses the deictic center is a normal state of being.

Normal states always involve acceptable or expected behavior of some kind, while non-normal ones do not. Since motion 'come' always has as its destination the deictic center itself, the hypothesis would predict that idioms with 'come' should always indicate entry into some normal state. At the same time, because the destination of motion 'go' is specified as somewhere other than at the deictic center, it should also follow that idioms with 'go' should occur only to indicate departure from a normal state. (Clark 1974: 316-317).

Several examples are offered, some of which are repeated in somewhat abbreviated form below.

- (2) He went out like a light. (= became unconscious)
- (3) He came around very slowly. (= regained consciousness)
- (4) The motor went dead.
- (5) The motor came to life again.

Gandour notes that Thai provides support for the hypothesis, and he offers the following examples.

- |                             |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (6) a. <i>khũaŋ sĩa pay</i> | The machine went out of order. |
| b. <i>phỏm lủm pay</i>      | I forgot.                      |
| c. <i>phỏm pen lom pay</i>  | I fainted.                     |
| d. <i>kháw pen bĩa pay</i>  | He went crazy.                 |

Gandour comments that in the examples above,

only *pay* may be used, since each sentence describes a departure from a normal state. In (a), the deictic center is something like the expected or normal function; in (b-d), something like normal state of consciousness. Substituting *maa* 'come' for *pay* in (6) would produce ungrammatical sentences (Gandour 1978: 383).

Only a very few examples of this normal state deixis are found in the short story examined in the present study.

Clark states further that

there remain certain other idiomatic uses of 'come' and 'go' that also represent an extension from the forms involving actual movement. I have called these uses evaluative because the choice of 'come' consistently carries with it a positive connotation, while the choice of 'go' in an otherwise identical utterance carries a neutral, or occasionally negative, connotation (Clark 1974: 326).

The following sentences are offered as examples.

- (7) Look at all he came through.
- (8) Look at all he went through.

The two differ, according to Clark, in that the first would be spoken by one who approves of the outcome described, and the second by one who is neutral about it, and who places more emphasis on the ordeal rather than the outcome. Gandour offers the question *pen ?aray pay* 'What's the matter?' as an example of a Thai evaluative idiom. The analysis of *pay* and *maa* as used in the story will show that a few evaluative uses are to be found, but that they are not in fixed expressions, and depend on context to give them meaning, which makes it very difficult to cite examples in isolation.

Gandour goes on to consider further Clark's treatment of normal-state deixis, and uses examples from Thai to show that Clark's hypothesis must be expanded if it is to take into account not only changes in non-relative state but also changes in relative state. This interesting discussion is, however, not of relevance to the present study of text building, and so it will not be summarised here.

Turning to the more traditional approach, the words *pay* and *maa* may serve as the main verb in a sentence, or as what Noss (1964) defines as a modal or a post position. Because these three syntactic categories are very well suited to a discussion of text building, they will be used as the primary basis for discussion in the present study, although it will be seen in the discussion of specific examples in the text that some of the distinctions of meaning between Noss' categories will have to be altered somewhat. Section A below deals with the use of the words as the main element of the predicate. Section B is a summary of Noss' discussion of the use of the words in what he defines as modal position, and Section C is a summary of his discussion of use the words in what he defines as postposition. Each of these sections is partly a restatement and partly an expansion of points made in studies of deixis; the intention is to tailor those points to studies on the text level.

## A. Main verb

Thai uses *pay* and *maa* as sentence predicates in which the meaning is similar to that of the English verbs 'go' and 'come'.

1. *dɛɛŋ pay talàat*  
 PN go market  
 Daeng went to the market.
2. *lɛk maa hǎa phǒm*  
 PN come find I  
 Lek came to see me.
3. *dɛɛŋ maa thūi talàat thúk wan*  
 PN come at market every day  
 Daeng comes to the market everyday.
4. *lɛk maa hǎa phǒm thūi bān*  
 PN come find I at home  
 Lek came to see me at home.

In sentences 1 through 4 *pay* and *maa* describe motion. Generally speaking, number 1 can be used by a speaker who, at the moment of speaking, is at the location from which the person named Daeng began the trip to the market, and number 2 can be used by a speaker who, at the moment of speaking, is at the location where Lek found him, wherever that might be. In forming these sentences, the speaker selects either *pay* or *maa* depending on his location at the moment that he describes the motion. If, at the time of speaking, the speaker is at the starting point of motion toward another location, he will generally use *pay* in speaking about that motion. If he is at the end point of motion from another place, he will generally describe that motion with *maa*.

Of course, other considerations are often involved, as well. As the previous paragraph suggests, sentence 1 would probably not be used by a speaker at the market at the moment of speaking; since *pay* would indicate a directional orientation directly opposite to the one suggested by the speaker's location, *maa* would be the more likely choice. However, if the speaker were at a location removed from both the starting point and the destination of Daeng's trip to the market, *pay* would be the likely choice, since *pay* is the less marked, more general term.

On the other hand, sentence 4, which would be used by a speaker if he were at home at the moment of speaking, could also be used if he were not at home. In addition sentence 3, which could be used by anyone at the market at the moment of speaking, it could also be used by anyone who habitually spends great amounts of time at the market, such as a vendor, even if that person were not at the market at the moment of speaking. It seems that there is a component of association at work here; a person who 'belongs' someplace can speak of motion toward that place as if he or she were there, can in effect adopt that place as a deictic center, even when the opposite is the case. An additional restriction, however, would discourage this orientation based on association if it were directly to contradict orientation based on actual location at the time of speaking. Thus the speaker of sentence 3 would be less likely to select *maa* as the predicate of the sentence if he or she were speaking at Daeng's home, even if that speaker were a market vendor

and therefore associated with the market. Likewise, the speaker of sentence 4 would be less likely to use *maa* if that sentence were to be spoken at Lek's home, since it would disturb a basic polarity established by the fact that their homes are not in the same place.

## B. Modal

Thai also uses *pay* and *maa* before the predicate of the sentence; Noss defines this as a modal, a relatively small class of bound lexeme with the class meaning defined as 'mode of action, or specific applicability of situation described' (p.133). The words *pay* and *maa* are placed in the *khǎun* subclass, with the class meaning defined as 'attitude of the speaker toward the effect, timing, or setting of the action'. Noss lists 12 principal members, and it is instructive to compare them; the 12 are given below as Noss defines them, although for the sake of brevity examples have been omitted for all those except *pay* and *maa*.

1. *khǎun*  
'to do something one knows is wrong'
2. *ǎun*  
'to force oneself to do something distasteful'
3. *mua*  
'to keep on, to act stubbornly or tardily'
4. *phǎŋ* or *phûŋ*  
'to act prematurely' (after *yàa*)  
'to have acted recently' (otherwise)
5. *klêŋ* or *klêŋ*  
'to pretend, to act so as to deceive'
6. *lǒŋ*  
'to act wrongfully without realising it'
7. *klàp*  
'to act contrary to expectations or to reverse previous behaviour'
8. *ʔèp*  
'to act surreptitiously or from concealment'
9. *phlœy*  
'to act as a follower, to tag along'
10. *phaakan* and *chûaykan*  
'to act as a group'
11. *maa*  
'to act toward the speaker, or so as to affect the speaker and his group'  
*-yàa maa khǎan bon kradaan dam*  
Don't write on this (or our) blackboard.

-*maa thoot phom thamay*

Why come and blame me for it?

12. *pay*

'to act away from the speaker, or so as to affect the speaker and his group'

-*yaa pay khian bon kradaan dam*

Don't write on that (or their) blackboard.

-*dīaw ca pay tham thūay kēew tēek*

Watch out you don't go breaking any glasses.

### C. Postposition

The words *pay* and *maa* also appear following the predicate of a sentence, in what Noss refers to as a 'postposition'. For the majority of postposition uses, Noss gives as a general definition 'restriction as to time, space, quantity, or degree of a free lexeme concept' (p.183). Verb modifiers are grouped in the *wáy* subclass of postpositions, of which *pay* and *maa* are members. Of the *wáy* subclass Noss states that "the class meaning is 'orientation of action with respect to space and time relationships', and the forms together constitute a kind of aspectual system for the verb". There are ten members of the subclass and, as with the modals, it is most helpful to be aware of the meanings of all those with which *pay* and *maa* are grouped. All ten members are listed below, but for the sake of brevity examples are again given only for *pay* and *maa*.

1. *khaw*

'into an enclosed space, or closer to the centre of interest'

2. *?ok*

'out of an enclosed space or farther from the centre of interest'

3. *khun*

'upward, newly arrived on the scene'

4. *lon*

'downward, departing from the scene'

5. *wáy* or *wáyay* and *?awwáy* and *títwáy*

'removed from the scene but with future relevance, put aside temporarily for future reference, action deferred'

6. *sǎa* or *sá*

'removed from the scene permanently, with no future relevance'

7. *yuu*

'remaining on the scene, unchanged, action continuing, temporary, without necessary future significance'

8. *sáorsǎa*

'situation changed, action viewed as a unit, not continuing into the future?'

9. *pay*

'away from the speaker, toward the future or an indefinite or irrelevant goal',  
before prepositional phrase: 'toward a definite but distant goal, toward the future'

-*laa wŭŋ khâw pay nay pàa*

The donkey ran off into the forest (to get away).

-*khâw yām nāa pay bāaŋ*

(One of the things) they (do is) trample the fields.

-*raw tōŋ khooy pay ?iik naan máy*

Do we have to keep on waiting long?

-*taŋ tēe wan nān pay...*

From that day (in the future) onward ...

-*mūa waan nī lum sūu pay*

I forgot to buy it yesterday.

10. *maa*

'toward the speaker, up to the present or toward a definite, relevant nearby goal'

-*tāŋ tēe wan nān maa ...*

From that day (in the past) onward...

-*raw khooy maa naan lēew*

We have been waiting for a long time already (the waiting may or may not be over).

-*pay nǎy maa*

Where have you been?

-*ŋon thīi khâw dāay maa...*

The money which he had gotten...

-*laa wŭŋ khâw maa nay pàa*

The donkey ran into the forest (toward us).

-*mūa waan nī lum sūu maa*

I forgot to buy it yesterday.

Noss identifies an additional subclass of postpositions which he calls the *nāk* class, and defines as adjective modifiers that have as their class meaning 'to a certain extent'. The word *maa* does not occur in this subclass but *pay* does, with the meaning 'too, excessively'. This usage is very common in both spoken and written Thai in expressions such as *māak pay*, meaning 'too much'. Such expressions, however, have little or no function in building text coherence and so they will not be discussed in this study. To avoid confusion, the examples of this type (27, 88 and 89) will be noted in the list of glosses, but they will not be discussed in the analysis.

In addition, *pay* and *maa* can occur after the verb *tōo*, meaning 'to continue' with the resulting meaning 'next' or 'following that, in sequence', or the like, depending on the context; number 59 in the text is one such example. However, when *tōo* follows another verb, while *pay* may be used,

*maa* may not. Several instances of the use of the expression *təɔpay* are found in the story in which that compound modifies a verb; usually the expression modifies a verb of speaking and either introduces or concludes a section of quoted dialogue (numbers 15, 24, 51, 60, 73, 74, 95 and 120). Since this compound is fixed when used in verb modification whatever the verb involved might be, these instances play no part in text building and will not be discussed in this study. In order to avoid confusion these sentences will be numbered and listed in the glosses and the reader will be referred back to this explanatory paragraph.

## Part II Analysis

Each scene in the story will be presented in sections. First, brief general comments will be given, and then the dialogue will be discussed for each character individually. Last, the narrator's comments will be examined.

### Scene 1

In the first scene of the story the reader is introduced to three of the four characters and is given background information. Character development does not receive much attention at any point in the story and only those facts which are essential for plot development are revealed. The reader learns that Chaweng, a successful police detective and the son of a noted psychiatrist, has been called to his father's clinic, where he meets a man named Khamron who has come for help for his allegedly deranged wife. The psychiatrist deliberately deceives Khamron about his son's occupation, and says that Chaweng will go to help the sick woman. After the guest leaves, Luang Khajat, the psychiatrist, explains the details of the situation to his son, and says that he is suspicious of Khamron's story. He then asks for his son's help, which is readily granted.

The majority of uses of *pay* and *maa* fit into the speaker-addressee category of deictic analysis. The three characters who speak in this scene describe motion toward the setting of their conversation, Luang Khajat's clinic, as 'toward the speaker'. They also describe motion away from the clinic to another location as 'away from the speaker'. Khamron's home also quickly becomes an important location since the heroine of the story is to be found there. Thus the three characters adopt what might be called a polarity of sorts, with the clinic as an immediate physical focus point, and with Khamron's home as a remote physical focus point. The narrator also adopts this polarity, and also draws the reader into the story by manipulating *pay* and *maa* in such a way as to create similar polar relationships, not between locations, but between individual characters in the story.

#### A. Luang Khajat

Throughout the first scene, Luang Khajat, who has the largest spoken part in the scene, uses the clinic and his conversation partner as his immediate physical focus, and Khamron's home as a remote focus. In his first words to Chaweng (3), the father uses the imperative *maa* 'come' to invite his son into a new physical setting, that is, the office in the clinic, and into a new social relationship, that is, with Khamron. The usage here happens to parallel that of English. In numbers 19 and 23 the clinic is also used as the focus of motion 'toward the speaker', in the



former as a main verb describing an actual trip to the clinic, and in the latter as a postposition describing a contrary-to-fact situation. It happens that in both cases the starting point of the motion described is the same, that is, Khamron's home. In each of these three sentences the motion toward Luang Khajat is different in significant ways. Chaweng comes from a point only slightly distant from, and within eyesight of, the speaker, but the direction is still 'toward the speaker'. Khamron has come from his home, some distance away, out of sight, and possibly in a completely different direction from the point at which Chaweng began the trip which eventually brought him into the clinic, and then from the door into the room. In the third sentence no trip was actually made nor was it ever intended that the trip should be made. In each of these circumstances the direction 'toward the speaker' is the appropriate one; Luang Khajat uses himself as his immediate focus and orients action to or from his location.

Numbers 9 and 16 are both remarks of Luang Khajat addressed to Khamron, referring to the proposed visit by Chaweng to Khamron's home. In each case the direction is 'away from the speaker' referring to a destination that is at some remove from the speaker. The fact that the addressee has come from that location, makes it his home, and intends to return there immediately, adds a focus and a precision to the otherwise non-specific physical orientation provided by *pay*, and helps to establish Khamron's home as one end of a polarity.

In numbers 30, 31 and 33 Luang Khajat speaks to his son, directing him to leave the location where their conversation is taking place and to go to another, with the specific purpose stated in each sentence, but without repetition of the specific destination. The directional component of each verb phrase is *pay*, 'away from the speaker', which reflects the separateness of the two locations. There is no argument between the two characters about whether the detective will actually go, but there is discussion about the exact purpose of the trip; thus the presence of *pay* here is mainly to reflect the orientation of the speakers with regard to the actions stated by the other verbs.

Number 33 uses two postpositions. After telling Khamron's story to Chaweng, Luang Khajat declares himself to be suspicious, and for this reason interested in having his son learn whatever he can. This is expressed through combining *khâw*, which Noss defines in postposition use as 'closer to the center of interest', and *pay*. The two modifiers used together, coming as they do at the very end of both the conversation and the scene, signal the shift of interest to Khamron's home, but the physical location of the conversation remains unchanged and so, for the moment, does the physical orientation of the characters, despite the developing emphasis on another location.

Number 20 uses *pay* as a modal and shows attitudinal rather than physical orientation. Noss' definition of the modal as meaning 'to act away from the speaker, or so as to affect interests other than the speaker and his group', does not fit without some further interpretation. Luang Khajat states that Khamron liked Jaemnapha enough to ask for her hand; the verb *chôp* 'like' is preceded by the modal *pay* and it clearly does give the attitude of the speaker, at least to the extent that he feels the act to have been notably significant. The modal *pay* suggests significance for someone other than the speaker, and the speaker here is emphasising the significance of the act for the one who performed it, despite that person's ignorance of that significance when he acted. This usage can carry a negative connotation which implies that the significance is an unfortunate one for those

concerned, which is a reasonable interpretation in this case. This use of *pay* parallels the use of 'go' in Clark's discussion of English evaluative deixis, in which

the choice of 'come' consistently carries with it a positive connotation, while the choice of 'go' in an otherwise identical utterance carries a neutral or occasionally negative connotation (Clark 1974: 326).

Numbers 25 and 26 also show the attitude of the speaker rather than the direction of the activity in a purely physical sense. First, Luang Khajat describes in general terms various attempts by Jaemnapha to end her own life by jumping from the house to the ground below; as the glosses show, the verb used is *loŋ* 'descend', but neither *pay* nor *maa* is added. The conversation takes place at some distance from Jaemnapha's home and so the possible fall is not oriented with respect to the speaker. Luang Khajat then describes efforts to prevent the attempted suicides; two verbs, *càp* and *yút*, both of which mean 'grasp', are combined with the repeated modal *pay*, but distance again suggests that the orientation here is not physical. It is not specific attempts to restrain the woman that are being described, nor is it the direction from which the would-be rescuer approaches her that is reflected in the use of the modal. What is conveyed here is the attitude of the speaker toward the situation that he describes, a situation in which he had no part and which does not directly concern either him or his associates; the speaker feels the actions to be significant although in just what way is not made clear.

It may be that the speaker is impressed by the futility of the attempts at rescue, in light of the certainty of further attempts at suicide, and that this is reflected in the use of the modal. Or it may be that the modal carries a slightly negative connotation, indicating that the rescues are a significant frustration for the woman. Or it may be that the modal is used here to show that the speaker is impressed by the peculiarity of the situation and the seeming contradiction involved in Khamron's reports which imply that the woman is both suicidal and afraid for her life. At any rate, the modal signals the reader that the speaker is relating information that he feels to be significant, although not for his personal circle; it is only later in the scene, when the speaker declares his as yet undefined suspicions, that his attitude with regard to the situation becomes more evident.

It is interesting to note that several sentences before numbers 25 and 26, Luang Khajat says, ... *mây hây kháw khâw klây* (glossed as: P have he enter near), translated as '... (she) wouldn't let him near her'. The situation described in this sentence is similar to that in numbers 25 and 26 in that the speaker is describing a situation at some remove from the place in which he is speaking, and in that the motion described has no relationship with the clinic or those in it, and does not involve any motion from the clinic toward the home. The verb is *khâw* and it is used as a main verb, but the connotation it carries as a postposition, 'toward the centre of interest', cannot be ignored. This use of *khâw* without *pay* or *maa* orients the action between the husband and wife, but not with respect to Luang Khajat or Chaweng. This reinforces the significance of the directional modification in numbers 25 and 26.

The use of *pay* in number 32 conforms to Clark's hypothesis regarding idiomatic uses of 'come' and 'go' in normal state deixis. The hypothesis predicts, in part, that since normal functioning is the deictic centre for such idiomatic uses, motion specified as away from the deictic

centre would indicate departure from the normal state. This is clearly the case with number 32, in which Jaemnapha is said to have 'lost her senses'.

## B. Chaweng

Chaweng also uses the clinic as the immediate focus of his speech, although in this scene there are fewer examples of the use of directional modifiers in his speech than in that of his father. In asking why he has been called to the clinic (7) Chaweng uses the modifier *maa*. No mention is made of his location at the time of the summons, nor is such mention necessary; since Chaweng is now in the clinic he adopts it as his immediate focus. In number 21 Chaweng speaks not of his own trip to the clinic but of Khamron's trip there to find Luang Khajat. Despite the fact that Khamron's trip to the clinic began at a place other than Chaweng's trip, that Chaweng was not the person Khamron sought, and that Chaweng was not there when Khamron arrived, Chaweng still adopts the clinic as his immediate focus point since he is there at the time that he speaks. The same is true for number 22, with the added fact that the motion described never actually took place; since he is at the point at which the trip would have ended, he uses the directional modification 'toward the speaker'.

The use of *pay* in number 28 is consistent with the situation as well; Chaweng will have to leave the place of speaking in order to reach his destination, Khamron's home. The use of *pay* in the idiomatic expression *pen pay dâay* (glossed as: be go get), meaning 'to be possible' (29) is fixed; there is no corresponding expression with *maa*, and so while the idiom is of interest in an analysis of deixis, it does not have any bearing on a discussion of text building.

## C. Khamron

Khamron uses directional modification in only one sentence in this scene. In number 11, unaware that he has been duped, Khamron asks Chaweng why he had not come to work. The use of *maa* here is expected since Khamron is at the location where he would expect the 'work' to take place. Just as Chaweng does not need to know the starting point of Khamron's trip to the clinic, so Khamron does not need to know the starting point of Chaweng's trip there in order to select the correct orientation. If Khamron had not been deceived and had been told Chaweng's true occupation he would have known that his place of work was not in fact the clinic; in that case he would have chosen *pay* instead of *maa* to acknowledge both that Chaweng had not gone to work and that they were not at that place of work at the moment that the question was being asked.

## D. Narrator

The omniscient narrator does not appear as a character in the story, but is used by the author as a tool with which to add considerably to the information given in the dialogue, and much of this additional material is conveyed by manipulation of the directional orientation. While the characters are limited by their physical positions and must select directional modification accordingly if their speech is to remain consistent, the narrator is as though an incorporeal presence, able to change position and orientation at will, and this manipulation is used to create perspective for the reader. The uses of *pay* and *maa* in the characters' speech were examined for each character separately in order to show what for each is a firm pattern that does not alter much throughout each scene; the

narrator's uses of the two words will be considered in sequence in order to show the effects of manipulation.

As the story opens Chaweng is walking into the clinic from some point outside; the choice of the postposition in number 1 places the narrator outside of the clinic as well, as if watching the action described from some point behind the character performing the action. If *maa* had been used instead of *pay* the narrator would have been describing the activity as though watching from a point inside the clinic as Chaweng enters. Since the narrator's point of view is the only one open to the reader, at least in the physical description of the action of the story, the reader must also view the story from that set of orientations adopted by the narrator. The reader forms a mental picture of the action being described, and must view Chaweng's entrance as the narrator does, as if from behind. Number 2 continues this orientation; Chaweng has just entered and has not as yet been placed in any set of relationships with those inside, and so the perspective remains the same.

It is at this moment that Luang Khajat invites his son to enter the room and join the conversation within; after extending the invitation he turns to the guest, a stranger to Chaweng, to speak to him. The narrator describes this turn (4) with *pay* 'away from the speaker'; at this point it is not yet clear whether the directional component of this verb phrase is intended to be significant for the reader, but it becomes clearer in a short time.

In number 5 the narrator continues the orientation of the first two examples. Chaweng is still in the act of entering the scene and the conversation inside the room; the narrator continues to present the action as though watching from behind Chaweng, allowing the reader to encounter new aspects of the situation as Chaweng does. Example number 6 is part of a construction beginning with the expression *phrómkàp*, commonly used to link descriptions of simultaneous actions. The postposition gives the construction a meaning best rendered by Noss' definition 'having no definite goal', which is not to say that the action is aimless. We now know that Chaweng is a detective, and may assume that he is by training given to noticing and analysing details of his surroundings. With no information to work on, however, Chaweng can make an attempt to analyse the situation, but his efforts cannot yet have a specific focus. The sentence describes two activities that are unrelated by nature, but which are related by the fact that one person performs both, and does so at one time.

Number 8, which occurs after Chaweng has entered both the room and the conversation, describes Luang Khajat's motion as he turns to address Khamron for a second time; the narrator again describes this action as being one of turning 'away from the speaker'. Now that Chaweng has become part of the scene at the invitation of his father, the fact that the narrator sees the father turning away is more significant. Number 10 elaborates this significance further; previously only *pay* was used and in each case the word might not have been very significant, since it is the less marked of the two directional words being considered here. However, in number 10 the narrator uses the opposite modification, *maa*, and the contrast, which is continuously elaborated throughout the rest of the story, makes the choices clearly significant.

While in numbers 4 and 8 Luang Khajat had turned to Khamron 'away from the speaker', in number 10 Khamron turns to Chaweng with the modification 'toward the speaker'. In this sentence the narrator assumes the same position as Chaweng, and since the only orientation

available to the reader is that of the narrator, the reader is placed with Chaweng as well. It is not yet clear whether the author intends Chaweng to be a sympathetic character with whom the reader may identify, but it begins to appear at this point that the reader is intended at least to see things from, as it were, over Chaweng's shoulder.

As the scene progresses Chaweng is startled by his father's strange behaviour, and does not know how to reply to a question put to him by Khamron. In number 12, the narrator describes this dilemma. The use of the postposition *pay* in this sentence is an example of Clark's normal state deixis, and is best rendered in Noss' terms by the definition 'toward an indefinite or irrelevant goal'. The character has changed activity or state of mind abruptly and without a specific purpose; in this case, one minute he is analysing the situation, and in the next minute he is nonplussed. The postposition *yùu* 'unchanged; action continuing' might have been chosen to emphasise his perplexity, but the choice of *pay* emphasises the change of state.

Numbers 13 and 14, together in one sentence, are part of an indirect quote relating what is going through Chaweng's mind as he sits perplexed, and they are an example of the 'kind of aspectual system for the verb' mentioned by Noss (p.185). The use of the postposition *pay* shows that the investigation itself is no longer an influence on Chaweng and on the manner in which he fills his time, as it had been before resolution of the case; the idea is that it no longer requires his attention, rather as if it were 'over and done with'. On the other hand, the fact that Chaweng completed the investigation and was rewarded with a two-week leave only a few days previously is of great relevance to the present since that explains Chaweng's free time, and this is indicated by the use of the postposition *maa*. The use of *pay* in number 13 shows the relationship between past events and the present situation, and the use of *maa* in number 14 expands on the idea by showing the relationship between the timing of the past events and the present situation. The indirect quote makes the full significance of Chaweng's dilemma clear and it is the use of the two postpositions that establishes the complex relationships between Chaweng and events in his recent past.

In number 17 the narrator once again describes an action of turning performed by Khamron; this time he turns to Chaweng 'toward the speaker'. In numbers 4 and 8 Luang Khajat turned to Khamron 'away from the speaker', and then in number 12, and now again in number 17 as well, Khamron turns to Chaweng 'toward the speaker'. At this point it is clear to the reader that father and son have deceived their guest, although the reason is still not known. Through the manipulation of the directional modifiers in these four examples, the reader is made to feel that he should see events from Chaweng's position and that, for some reason, Khamron stands at the opposite end of an ill-defined polarity. The reader is invited to identify with Chaweng, and is also given to feel that Khamron is not as attractive, and this is despite the fact that the attractive character feels sympathy for the less attractive one.

In number 18 the narrator uses directional modification to indicate that Khamron has left the scene, but that the center of interest remains with the father and son. The scene had opened with Chaweng entering the clinic 'away from the speaker' which had the effect of drawing the reader into the clinic, and the unfolding story there, as if following the detective in. Now Khamron has left the scene, also 'away from the speaker'; the reader has entered the clinic and remains there, even as Khamron, who had been there when the narrator began the story, leaves. It is important to note that in the second part of number 18 Chaweng turns to his father but the narrator uses the

postposition *khâw* 'toward the centre of interest' without either *pay* or *maa*. This suggests that a polarity has been established with Luang Khajat and Chaweng at one end and with Khamron at the other. It is not necessary for directionality to be expressed in terms of toward or away from the speaker in this instance since the two characters are already on the same end of the polarity; indeed if directional modification were used in this sentence it would upset the carefully created pattern of orientation.

In summary, the characters in the scene speak as would be expected in normal Thai conversation, with the use of *pay* and *maa* normal in each case. The omniscient narrator, however, is free to manipulate directional orientation to create desired perspectives in the reader's mind, and to make different characters more appealing than others. The balance of this study will pursue these observations, made with reference to scene 1, to see how the author elaborates the basic framework that has been established, at least partly through use of the words *pay* and *maa*.

## Scene 2

In the second scene Chaweng goes to the house and meets Jaemnapha; he is stunned to find that, unlike his mental image of her, she is a beautiful young woman. His admiration for the long-suffering Khamron is a bit shaken by events he witnesses and by facts that he learns. Nonetheless he still believes Khamron to be innocent.

In this scene, which has fewer examples of the use of *pay* and *maa*, the characters use Khamron's home as the focal point, the deictic center, around which they orient their motion. They also use their locations within the home as more immediate focus points, around which motion within the home is oriented. Jaemnapha is introduced in this scene, but does not use the words at all. Chaweng uses the words in two sentences, one of which is an example of evaluative deixis. Khamron uses the words six times, one of which is an example of normal state deixis. The narrator's comments continue to manipulate the reader's perspective regarding both the events and characters.

### A. Chaweng

Number 43 uses *pay* in what Noss calls modal position and it expresses the speaker's attitude toward the action referred to in the verb that follows; as with number 20 this is an example of Clark's evaluative deixis. Chaweng realises the uselessness of being offended at the ravings of a mad woman and uses the modal, which Noss interprets as 'to act away from the speaker', to emphasise that realisation. In this case, however, the interpretation Noss gives for the postposition is more apt; the act of being offended by madness in another would be useless, as though one were to act 'toward an irrelevant goal'. In either case the expression carries something of a negative connotation appropriate to the situation described in Chaweng's thoughts.

In number 44 Chaweng uses directional modification to soften his request and make his speech polite. Both speaker and addressee are in the location spoken of in this sentence, and so any use of directional modification with verbs referring to a trip to that location would normally be 'toward the speaker'. What is notable is that *maa*, here used as the main element of the predicate, is

preceded by *ca*, defined by Noss as a particle marking the following verb as hypothetical. In a polite gesture, Chaweng is speaking as though the addressee could refuse permission for what is actually an accomplished fact.

## B. Khamron

Throughout the scene Khamron adopts expected orientations. Having greeted his guest, Khamron sends word to his wife, asking her to join them (38). Since Jaemnapha is in the house, presumably in her room, she must leave that room, *ʔəək* 'to exit', and move toward the speaker's location; Khamron, as the speaker, adopts his own location as the deictic centre, as the focus of motion toward him, and so uses *maa* as the directional component. The same is true in number 45 in which Khamron tells Jaemnapha that he will take her to get some rest; he uses the location that the two occupy at the moment of speaking as the immediate focus, as the starting point of motion away from that spot, and thus uses 'away from the speaker', as the modification.

In number 52 Khamron uses *pay* to describe the fall which he professes to fear; since that fall would be down and away from the location in which the conversation is taking place, *pay* is the appropriate choice. The opposite modification, *maa*, would be appropriate if the conversation were taking place downstairs anywhere within the vicinity of the house. The same is the case in number 54, in which Khamron speaks of another motion beginning in the house, presumably an elevated one which is the norm in central Thailand, and ending on the lower, ground, level presumably reserved for the servants rather than their employers. It should be noted that both utterances could have used *maa* 'toward the speaker' only if the conversation had taken place near the house. If Khamron had said the same things to Chaweng when they were both in the clinic, the use of *pay* would have been expected; if the speaker is far removed from a motion that he wishes to describe it is likely that he will choose *pay* as the modifier, selecting the starting place of the action as the focus for modification. Thus it is important to note the uses of *maa* as the directional modifier, especially when it is used in contrast with other, similar expressions with *pay*.

Number 53 is used to describe a change of state for the worse, in Noss' terms toward an 'irrelevant goal', or no goal at all, and in deictic terms, away from the normal state. Number 55 is the last instance in the scene of directional modification employed by Khamron and in it he uses his home as the deictic centre. The use of *maa* is expected here since Chaweng has arrived at the home from another location. In the first scene Chaweng spoke of Khamron's trip to the clinic as being 'toward the speaker' and now that the two are in Khamron's home the directional modification reverses, as expected.

## C. Narrator

As with the first scene, the narrator relates the events which begin the action of the second scene with the directional modification 'away from the speaker'. In numbers 34 and 35 Chaweng approaches the building, and then his host, and in each case the motion is modified with *pay*; both narrator and reader view the action from Chaweng's perspective. After host and guest meet, the narrator establishes their location as a centre of activity and focuses motion around that location, which parallels Khamron's own focus, used in his directions to the servant.

In numbers 36, 37, 39 and 40 the location of the conversation becomes the immediate focus of the motion, and Jaemnapha's room becomes the remote focus. No translation of numbers 36 and 37 into normal English can show this orientation clearly. The original Thai wording is something like, 'He sent a servant away to call his wife toward (him)...' but while this alternate translation shows the directional orientation clearly, the forced and unusual English phrasing makes the narrator seem far more obtrusive than is the case in the Thai original. In number 40 the narrator describes Chaweng's observations about Khamron's attitude toward his wife; the directional modification in this sentence shows that Chaweng and Khamron are to be thought of as sharing the same position. The two men share the immediate focus and Jaemnapha is the remote focus point.

Within this physical orientation of motion to and from the room, the narrator retains the personal orientation of the reader toward the characters that was established in the first scene. In number 41 Khamron turns to Chaweng and the narrator again describes this action with *maa* 'toward the speaker'. The reason for this recurrent pattern has not yet been explained, but it continues to require the reader to see things from Chaweng's perspective, and to see Khamron at the opposite end of some sort of polarity. To this relationship, this polarity, is added another. Chaweng sees hate and fear in Jaemnapha's eyes (42) and these emotions are described by the narrator as shining out of her eyes 'toward the speaker'. The combination of Chaweng as the subject of the sentence, that is, the one who 'sees' the emotions and the directional modifier *maa* again forces the reader to view the scene with Chaweng's eyes. In addition, the phrasing places Jaemnapha in some sort of polar relationship with Chaweng, although it soon develops that this does not necessarily mean that she and Khamron share the same position with regard to Chaweng. As *pay* and *maa* can be used to establish and maintain simultaneous polar relationships between one immediate physical focus and more than one remote physical focus, so too can the two words be used to establish and maintain simultaneous polar relationships between a single individual and two or more others who are not necessarily related or connected to each other.

The physical focus within the scene is not rigidly fixed and can be altered to suit the changing situation without loss of coherence. In number 45 Khamron says that he will take his wife to get some rest, and he describes that motion as 'away from the speaker' meaning toward a place other than that occupied by the three people at the time that the sentence is spoken. The narrator then also describes Khamron's motion toward the chair (46) as 'away from the speaker'. Since Khamron has just finished speaking, it is normal that the narrator chooses Khamron's position as the point from which to focus his motions; this orientation of motion within the larger area of interest, that is, within the conversational grouping of the three characters, does not alter the larger patterns.

Numbers 47, 48 and 49 describe Jaemnapha as she flees the room and Khamron as he follows her to the door; all three actions involved are described as 'away from the speaker'. Khamron's return from the doorway, where he had stopped, is given three postposition modifiers (50); he *dæən klâp khâw maa* (glossed as: walk return enter come), which means that as he walks (*dæən*) he is returning to the previous location (*klâp*), toward the centre of interest (*khâw*), and toward the speaker (*maa*). These modifications tell the reader, without explaining why it is so, that the most important position is the one occupied by Chaweng, and shared by narrator and reader as well. It is also clear that Khamron does not share this position, although this, too, has yet to be explained.



In number 56, the final instance of directional modification in this section, the postposition *pay* is used to describe an abrupt change from one state or condition to a radically different one. This is another example of normal state deixis, and does not play a role in text building.

### Scene 3

Scene 3 opens with a brief summary by the narrator of two days that Chaweng has spent in the home. Khamron and Chaweng agree to leave the home, the former ostensibly to attend to business and the latter to visit his father and tend to other matters as well. While with his father Chaweng explains his plan to enter the home unobserved. The three male characters have spoken parts in this scene. Again, most of the uses of *pay* and *maa* involve literal descriptions of motion.

#### A. Khamron

In his question to Chaweng (64), Khamron uses *pay* as the main verb; the situation requires *pay* in the question since the speaker is referring to future movement away from the place where the conversation is taking place, and thus away from both speaker and the addressee who shares his location. In number 65 Khamron uses *maa* as a postposition in describing an activity he intends to undertake. Khamron does not know where Chaweng plans to go, and they are not, at the time that the question is asked, at a spot that Khamron might suppose to be the likely meeting place, which would make the use of the modification 'toward the speaker' likely. Khamron's use of *maa* here is preemptive. He uses a postposition which is not, at the moment of use, correct with regard to actual physical orientation, but which will be appropriate later in the day when the proposed action is to take place. By speaking as though the proposal had already been agreed to, Khamron makes it more difficult for Chaweng to refuse.

#### B. Luang Khajat

Use of *maa* in number 67 can be interpreted as either physical or temporal orientation. Number 67 is Luang Khajat's greeting to his son, and the postposition modification 'toward the speaker' is appropriate since Chaweng is approaching the clinic and his father from a different location; what that location is has no bearing on selection of the modifier, although Luang Khajat does know where Chaweng has been and what he has been attempting to do. An alternate translation that would emphasise this physical orientation might be something like, 'Did you get anything from that, unspecified, place, of interest to us in this place, specified by the presence of the speaker?' Again, this alternative shows the sense of the Thai, but at the cost of creating an unnatural sentence in English.

It is also appropriate to interpret the postposition as temporal orientation, since Luang Khajat and Chaweng have not communicated during the time that Chaweng was at Khamron's home. A translation that would emphasise temporal orientation might be something like, 'Did you learn anything during the time of your absence that is relevant to the present moment?' It can also be argued that both interpretations are equally acceptable, and that it is inappropriate to try to limit the sentence to one or the other.

In number 72 *pay* is used in an example of normal state deixis. This is a repetition of the phrase used by Luang Khajat in the first scene, in number 32.

### C. Chaweng

In numbers 68 and 69 *pay* is placed before other verbs, and is used as what Noss refers to as a modal. Although the word can be interpreted here as referring to actual motion away from the speaker's present location at the clinic and toward the house, it is more likely that the modal here is used to indicate the speaker's evaluation of the situation, in another example of evaluative deixis. The meaning, 'so as to effect interests other than the speaker and his group' is more important, since Chaweng is showing his changing opinion of Khamron, whom he had previously admired for his supposed patience and long-suffering. In number 70 as well, the modal *pay*, rather than referring to actual motion, shows the speaker's evaluation; Chaweng emphasises not his motion toward various servants, but the lack of significant impact on his own interests of his efforts to discover information. Number 71 is similar; the speaker stresses the futility of his efforts by describing the disparity between what he wished to achieve and the actual results, as though events went not 'against' him, as one might say in English, but 'away' from him.

Number 75 returns to description of motion; the clinic, now once again the place of speaking as it had been in the first scene, returns to the position of immediate focus and the house to the remote focus of attention. The modal in 76 and the main verb in 77 use the clinic as the immediate focus, with no specific remote focus to indicate from where Khamron might be coming. In number 78 *pay* is used with no specific focus of any kind; earlier in the scene Chaweng tells Khamron that he intends to see a movie, but no directional modification is included. In this sentence (78) *pay* is used simply to reflect the fact that going to a movie would require motion, without special reference to any particular place.

### D. Narrator

The second and third scenes are separated by the passage of two days, and scene three opens with a brief description by the narrator of what Chaweng experienced and observed during that time. In number 58 the narrator states that Chaweng has watched servants bring clean dishes to Jaemnapha at the table, and this is described as 'toward the speaker'. Jaemnapha does not speak in this scene, and it is not likely that the orientation centres around her. Chaweng is the more likely focus, and this maintains in the reader a feeling of immediacy of the action; the events are not related in sequence but the narrator does maintain the reader's impression that the story is to be seen from Chaweng's point of view.

Frequently during the story the narrator uses the common time expression *tòò pay*, which means 'next' or 'following that, in sequence', or the like. In this scene, however, the expression is changed to the less common *tòò maa* (59), with a similar meaning, but with the added connotation 'toward the present'. (See the introduction for a brief discussion of a similar but fixed expression, the verb modifier *tòò pay*, meaning 'to continue'.) The use of this expression shows the reader that past events are to be related, but that they are relevant and significant for the present situation. In numbers 60, 61, 62 and 63 the house is the immediate focus of the motion; the two men leave the house 'away from the speaker'. The narrator does not change the orientation until the characters have left the house and arrived at another place where the action will continue. The use of the modification 'away from the speaker' to describe the trip from the house emphasises the fact that the narrator has related the events of the two days just gone by as though the narrator were witness

to all of the activity. This helps to maintain the reader's perspective; the events are related in summarised form, but the reader is reminded to see things from the narrator's, and therefore from Chaweng's point of view.

#### Scene 4

In scene 4 the reader and Chaweng learn the truth about Khamron and Jaemnapha as she relates the incidents that brought about her predicament. Chaweng has relatively little to say in this scene, and so his part will be considered first. Jaemnapha speaks at some length; her lines will be considered after those of Chaweng. Last will be the discussion of the narrator's comments, which are quite extensive, and which use directional modification both to orient the reader to the new setting, and also to show the developing relationship between Chaweng and Jaemnapha.

##### A. Chaweng

Chaweng does not use the word *pay* in this scene at all, and only four sentences in his dialogue contain the word *maa*; each use is a literal description of motion. In numbers 96 and 97 he speaks of his trip to the house to meet with Jaemnapha, with whom he is speaking at the time. The former example is quite general in nature, specifying neither his route or method of travel, saying only that the trip was a secret one. The latter example is specific, stating both the route, that is, from behind the house, and the method, that is, slipping through the fence, used to accomplish the trip. In both cases the directional component is 'toward the speaker' since he is standing at the end point of the trip, which is the rear of the house. In number 113 he speaks of Jaemnapha's trip to the place where they are talking, and in number 118 he refers to the possible arrival of another person. In the first two examples cited above the point of origin is the clinic, which the reader knows from the previous scene; in the third example the point of origin is presumed to be Jaemnapha's room, although that is not specifically stated, and in the fourth example the starting point of the hypothetical trip is unspecified, as is the possible identity of the 'anyone' who might happen along. Although the starting point for each of these trips is different, in each case the correct directional component is 'toward the speaker'.

##### B. Jaemnapha

The use of *pay* and *maa* in Jaemnapha's speech in this scene is quite complicated, especially since much of the dialogue relates events that have taken place prior to the conversation with Chaweng. Unlike the first scene, in which Luang Khajat also relates events in the past, in this scene the speaker relates specific events in sequence, which gives rise to the greater complexity in the use of directional modification.

Number 90, which uses *maa* as a modal, according to Noss' definition, is best interpreted as meaning 'to act so as to affect the interests of the speaker', and the phrasing thus places emphasis on the woman's opinion that Chaweng is there to do her harm, despite all his protests to the contrary. Number 91, in which *maa* is used as a postposition, does not translate well into English; the translation given here, '... he brought you here to kill me', places more emphasis on motion than does the Thai text, which uses *maa* to orient the verb *cháy* 'to use'. This translation was

decided on since the alternative, '... he's using you to kill me', loses the orientation entirely, and thus is even less faithful to the sense of the original. In each case the sentence could easily be rephrased without a directional component, without loss of the essential meaning, but the use of *maa* emphasises the speaker's attitude toward the situation. She sees Khamron manipulating Chaweng, a person from outside her normal circle of relationships, in such a way as to significantly affect her situation. Number 92 continues this trend; the postposition *maa* shows the speaker's opinion that the facts, should they become common knowledge, would be of significance to her and to those normally associated with her.

The rest of the sentences in this scene in which Jaemnapha uses *pay* and *maa* are part of her recitation of the facts surrounding her father's murder. The reader learns that the murder occurred inside the house and several of the sentences refer to motion from the ground level up into the living quarters. In number 99 the postposition *pay*, indicates that when Khamron entered the house to commit the crime his motion was away from the place where Jaemnapha sits telling the story. In numbers 104, 107 and 108 the postposition *pay* is used with the verb *khân* 'ascend', which is also appropriate since the motions spoken of involve moving both up from and away from the location of the conversation. In contrast, but also appropriate, is the use of *maa* in number 106; here the postposition is combined with *log* 'to descend' to describe motion down from the house and toward the location of the speaker in the garden. The selection of the directional components in these sentences depends entirely on Jaemnapha's location at the time of her conversation with Chaweng. The reader learns that she 'happened to be upstairs' when the events described took place and thus, in relating them to Chaweng, she has had to set up a completely different orientation framework from that which she would have used at the time that the events took place, or would have used had she related the story from the position she was in at the time that those events took place.

Number 105 is different from those mentioned in the previous paragraph. In discussing the guests who attended the wedding, Jaemnapha employs a different set of orientations; here the immediate focus is the home, including all the area around it which might figure in the wedding ceremony, and the remote focus is formed by the various places from which the guests might have come, although none of them are specified. She is now at home, so the modification 'toward the speaker' is appropriate. The sentences mentioned in the previous paragraph employed sets of focus points that were much more limited, the immediate focus being the place where Jaemnapha and Chaweng sit talking, and the remote focus being the different rooms in the house. The various sets of orientations overlap but are not incompatible.

Numbers 109 and 110 are especially interesting. In the sentence in which number 110 appears, Jaemnapha says that she heard Khamron threaten her father and she rushed into the room. She arrived just in time to see Khamron place the knife to her father's throat. When she describes that act of placing the knife (109) however, she uses the directional modification 'toward the speaker'. This is quite a contrast to those sentences in which she carefully reverses the directional modification in order to make it appropriate for both the time and the location of the conversation with Chaweng. Here, she describes a motion that happened at some distance from her as though she herself were at its end point and were the recipient of the action. Through this switch she stresses her empathy for her father by figuratively joining him as the victim of the physical threat.

In number 111 Jaemnapha describes how she reacts to the realisation that her father is dead. The use of *pay* here is expected since she speaks of an abrupt change of state, clearly a change for the worse. This instance of normal state deixis is a repetition of the phrase used by Luang Khajat in numbers 32 and 72.

Number 100 appears in a brief mention of the will that Khamron prepared and attempted to force Jaemnapha's father to sign. The postposition *maa* modifies the verb *khǎan* 'to write', but in this case the definition for the modal 'so as to affect the speaker and his group', is more appropriate. The will was Khamron's creation, and its provisions were contrary both to the desires of the father, and also to the best interests of Jaemnapha. The significance of the will, and its origin outside of Jaemnapha's sphere of reference, are both indicated by the choice of *maa*.

Number 101 refers to a trip out of Jaemnapha's normal frame of reference to a different and unspecified place, probably a new dwelling. Since the act of leaving home would disgrace her father, no matter what the ultimate destination, it is unlikely that *maa* would ever be appropriate, no matter how the story were to end or where Jaemnapha were to relate it. Since the act spoken of is only a hypothetical one, even to the characters in the story, it is all the more difficult to imagine *maa* being appropriate. Number 102 also uses *pay*, and like number 101 it suggests a trip that would take the subject to a new frame of reference, but since it did not ultimately occur the action remains in the realm of the hypothetical. What is significant for both sentences is the possible permanent move away from the home, both as a physical location and as a centre of personal relationships, and so the modification 'away' is the appropriate choice. The same applies to number 103, but here there is also the possibility that the wording, rather than reflecting a trip away from the home, conveys a negative attitude on the speaker's part. She now realises what she drove her father too, and shows her remorse in the way she describes his actions.

The last use of directional modification in Jaemnapha's speech in this section is number 112. Here a specific trip from the home to the temple is mentioned, and so the use of *pay* is expected.

### C. Narrator

In scene 4 the narrator manipulates the focus in striking ways. Scenes 1 and 2 open with Chaweng entering new situations as the reader follows his progress. Scene 3 involves not change in place but change in time; the action in that scene picks up after a lapse of two days, and so there is a new temporal orientation to be established, not a new physical one. In scene 4 there is again a location change, but it is accomplished in a much different way than in scenes 1 and 2. Rather than describing action in progress and adding the orientation 'away from the speaker' as was done previously in the story, here the narrator opens the scene with Chaweng already in place in the garden behind the house. There is no mental picture created of an action in progress as there is in scene 1 when Chaweng 'strode' into the clinic or in scene 2 when Chaweng approached the house 'carrying a small travelling bag'.

In scene 4, the narrator begins by telling the reader that Chaweng 'was able' to accomplish his entrance into the garden and to hide himself there by slipping through the fence. That is, the reader learns of the event after it has been completed. This is accomplished in numbers 79 and 80. The use of *dāay* 'to get; to be able to' indicates the completeness of the action, and the directional

modification 'toward the speaker' places the narrator and reader in the garden. The reader is encouraged to form an image of the character already in place and is given as additional background the method of entrance. The entrance itself is not described for the reader, as it was in the first two scenes; instead, the reader is given the narrator's perspective, that of having been in the garden before Chaweng's arrival. The effect is quite different from that of the earlier scenes.

Having placed Chaweng in the garden the narrator prepares to initiate the action of the scene. In number 81, Chaweng looks about him with the modification 'away from the speaker', used to indicate that his attention is given to an area larger than just his immediate surroundings. In this sentence *maa* would not be acceptable since, with a singular subject, it would indicate that the narrator received the action of the verb 'look' and from only one direction, contradicting *rôṭprôṭp* 'all around'. Therefore it is not possible to say from this sentence alone whether or not the author intends to reinforce the reader's identification with Chaweng, established earlier in the story.

The verb phrase in number 82 contains the particle *ca*, and therefore describes not an action but a hypothetical action; nonetheless it is significant in establishing orientation for the action of the scene. Use of the postposition *khâw* 'toward the centre of interest' shows that Chaweng, already in the garden, is interested in the house, but is not yet at it. While his trip into the garden is referred to as 'toward the speaker', the trip to the house, short though it may be, is 'away from the speaker'. Thus the narrator and reader again share Chaweng's orientation, that is, already within the garden, with definite interest in the house, and intending to move to it, but still a significant distance away. Number 83 maintains this orientation and makes it more specific as further background information is added. The verb, again with the particle *ca*, describes a possible motion, away from the present location toward another, away from the character and the narrator, and thus also from the reader.

In number 84 the action of the scene begins. Chaweng creeps toward the house 'away from the speaker', in contrast to the directional modification used to describe his entrance to the garden. The narrator manipulates the orientation in such a way that the reader pictures the action from Chaweng's starting position, and views the action as though with the character's eyes, or at least as though watching from behind him.

In numbers 85 and 86 the narrator continues to explain the development of the plot from Chaweng's point of view. The modifier 'toward the speaker' requires special interpretation in this case. The actions described are not the willful activities of a human subject and do not, in fact, involve motion toward either Chaweng or the narrator. If directional modification were necessary in these two sentences, *pay* might be the more expected form to indicate motion, if not actually away from the character viewing the scene, at least from one distant location to another equally remote. This unexpected use of *maa* as postposition is best translated by Noss' definition of the modal, that is, 'so as to affect the interests of the speaker', and of course, the 'speaker' is Chaweng, as well as the narrator and reader who share his perspective. The simile in 86 clearly describes Chaweng's reaction to the situation before him and portrays his growing sympathy for the heroine. In the next sentence (87) Chaweng moves closer to Jaemnapha, but 'away from the speaker'. Thus the reader first is made to feel as Chaweng does, to sense Chaweng's emotions, and second is made to view Chaweng from behind as he moves forward; both personal and physical relationships are created, at least partly through the use of directional orientation.

In number 93, the postposition *pay* modifies a verb phrase. In this example of normal state deixis, the transition from one state to another is on two levels, both the physical, *nîp* 'to pause', and the emotional *jan* 'to be stunned'.

In number 94 *maa* is used as the postposition with the verb *câp* 'to grasp', even though that verb does not normally imply motion. The reader is again made to share Chaweng's perspective because his activities are described as 'toward the speaker'. The point of view provided by the narrator is the only one open to the reader, and so Chaweng, the narrator and the reader all share one point of view.

This orientation is maintained in number 98 in which Jaemnapha's motion toward Chaweng is also 'toward the speaker'. Chaweng is used as the immediate focus of motion, that is, motion toward Chaweng is described as 'toward the speaker'. This is in contrast to number 87, in which Jaemnapha is the remote focus of action; in that sentence Chaweng's motion toward her is described as both 'toward the center of interest' and also 'away from the speaker'. There is a pattern of physical orientations which defines not only the relationships between the characters, but also the reader's relationship with those characters.

Following Jaemnapha's long narration of the events surrounding her father's death, she and Chaweng continue their conversation briefly. Number 114 describes Chaweng's sudden recollection of something he had seen earlier, but had not fully understood at the time. The verb used here, *nûk* 'to think', is modified with two postpositions. The use of *khûn* 'to ascend', indicates that the recollection was sudden, and the use of *maa* suggests that the recollection is of significance to Chaweng, or those associated with him. This is in contrast to number 117, in which the narrator uses *pay* in describing how Chaweng applies his recollection to the situation at hand. These sentences taken together show that past events, newly recalled into the present, are significant for the future. The phrases in which the directional modifiers appear are not unusual, but the juxtaposition of them provides a striking temporal framework for the reader.

Within this temporal framework is a physical one. In number 115 the use of *maa* shows that items are to be removed from various storage places and collected together. Following this in number 116 the location in which the items are to be washed is said to be some distance from the building, and from Chaweng's location. Thus numbers 114 through 117 describe a significant situation in the story by overlapping temporal and physical orientations. All the phrases are common and relatively fixed, but important information is revealed by their juxtaposition.

In the final two paragraphs of this scene the narrator relates events in sequence without dialogue. Following Chaweng's advice, Jaemnapha returns to the building while he remains behind. Narrator and reader do not change position, and thus remain with Chaweng. Chaweng does not immediately change position, and so in example 119 Jaemnapha walks 'away from the speaker'.

Numbers 121, 122 and 123 describe Khamron's stealthy return to the house and Chaweng's reaction to it. Number 121 says that Khamron walks 'toward the speaker', indicating that the narrator and reader remain in the same location, the garden at the back of the house, with Chaweng. Numbers 122 and 123 also use the house as the immediate focus and so use the same

modification. During the course of the scene Chaweng has moved around a bit, but since Khamron is returning to the house from some other location the use of *maa* is still appropriate.

Number 123 is interesting in another way as well. The sentence is the equivalent of an English indirect quote, and it gives Chaweng's thoughts at seeing Khamron return. The directional modification in the questions quoted is, as expected, 'toward the speaker', since the physical motion is toward Chaweng's location. But when the narrator describes how the questions occur to Chaweng, neither *pay* nor *maa* is used; the questions simply appear in Chaweng's mind without any directional modification, unlike the phrasing of number 114, in which Chaweng's recollection is 'toward the speaker'. This phrasing reminds the reader that while the narrator knows all of Chaweng's thoughts, and describes things from his point of view, the narrator and Chaweng are separate.

The scene ends with a great deal of rapid motion by both Chaweng and Khamron as the two enter the building by their separate routes, and numbers 124 through 129 describe this motion. In all of these examples the direction is from the garden, which has been the location of the action throughout the scene, toward and into the house. Numbers 124 and 125 use *pay* 'away' to describe Khamron's trip toward the house, because Chaweng remains in the garden watching; even though the distance to the house is relatively little and thus the two characters are not far apart, the modification is still appropriate. Number 126 gives Chaweng's emotional orientation toward Jaemnapha; his physical location, removed from that of the heroine, is used to focus his thought process as if it, too, worked in physical space and were subject to the grammatical rules associated with motion.

The last three examples, 127 through 129, describe Chaweng's trip toward the house and into it through the window. The directional modification is 'away from the speaker', and so here, as in the opening sentences of scene 1, the reader is encouraged to picture the hero moving away from their shared location. The difference is that in scene 1 that shared location is not described, whereas in this scene the shared location has been the location of a lengthy scene.

## Scene 5

Scene 5, which occurs immediately after scene 4 but with the action moved into Jaemnapha's room, brings the story to a rapid conclusion. Khamron shows by his actions that he is indeed the villain; Jaemnapha's sanity is demonstrated and Chaweng has the opportunity of saving her from mortal danger. The story ends with hero and heroine in each other's arms.

There is little dialogue in scene 5; instead, nearly the whole scene is description of action given by the narrator. Directional modification plays an important role in depicting the personal relationships, and also in describing the resolution of the situation through confrontation with Khamron.

### ... Khamron

Khamron is the only character in scene 5 with spoken lines. He enters the room and, according to the narrator's description, goes directly to Jaemnapha, at which point he immediately shows



himself to be the villain by threatening to shoot her if she makes any noise. In numbers 135 and 136 he says that if she speaks 'toward the speaker' he will shoot 'away from the speaker'. By using this modification he shows that in his mind there is distance between them. The narrator has already shown that there is no physical distance, and so it is emotional distance that is reflected in Khamron's choice of words. This is clearly in sharp contrast to the very solicitous attitude Khamron expressed previously, and it is also in sharp contrast to the orientations that the narrator establishes in describing the events of the scene.

Numbers 139, 142, 143 and 144 all involve imperatives and all use *pay*. Continuing to use himself as the immediate focus of his own speech, Khamron orders the heroine to walk to the windows and jump to her death; the expected orientation for all of these examples is *pay* 'away from the speaker', both because of physical and emotional considerations.

## B. Narrator

The narrator changes the location of the action from scene 4 to scene 5 abruptly. The final sentences of scene 4 describe Khamron and Chaweng as they enter the house by their separate routes, with *pay* as the directional component, but scene 5 begins with sentences in which there is no directional modification at all. Suddenly the narration picks up from within Jaemnapha's room, hero and heroine together inside. All further action is described from within the room, and the narrator's comments show how Chaweng and Jaemnapha view the action of the scene.

In number 130 Chaweng goes to hide 'away from the speaker', which leaves the position of immediate focus for the narrator undefined. The use of the postposition *pay* in this sentence alone is not unusual, nor does it establish any particular perspective for the narrator. Like the first scene, in which the expression *hǎn pay* did not become particularly revealing until it was repeated and contrasted with other phrases, scene 5 builds a set of focuses. In this scene, however, the action is more rapid than in scene 1, and the focusing does not become as concrete a set of orientations due to the confusion of the confrontation.

There is a knock at the door, but before responding to it Jaemnapha turns, in number 131, to look at Chaweng and the turn is described by the narrator as 'toward the speaker'. Thus, for the moment at least, the immediate focus for reader and narrator is the hero's hiding place from which Khamron's entrance will be viewed. In number 132 Jaemnapha walks to the door; the use of *pay* as the modifier here would not normally indicate much about the direction of her motions, but coming as it does after the look toward Chaweng, the reader knows at least that she has walked in some direction away from the hiding place.

Number 133 brings Khamron into the room, and as one would expect, his entrance is 'toward the speaker', since the two main characters, and narrator and reader, are already well established inside. But in number 134 Khamron's act of rushing for Jaemnapha is also described as 'toward the speaker'. This is the first time that motion toward Jaemnapha is described in this way, and this orientation shows the reader that now she at least shares the position of immediate focus with Chaweng. The sad story that she told in the previous scene won Chaweng's sympathy, and now the directional modification expands on that by suggesting that the reader view some of the action from Jaemnapha's perspective.

Following Khamron's threat Jaemnapha glances, in number 137, toward Chaweng but the modification is now 'away from the speaker'. When she 'returns' (*klâp*) her gaze to stare at her husband in number 138, the directional modification is 'toward the speaker'. At this point the polarity established between hero and heroine is reversed; she is now the immediate focus and Chaweng is the remote focus, which places narrator and reader at the center of the confrontation between the murderer and his intended victim.

In number 140 Jaemnapha walks to the window, but 'away from the speaker'; the narrator has placed the reader at the center of the confrontation and this sentence maintains that position since in number 141 she turns back 'toward the speaker' to look at Khamron. It is very unlikely that the narrator has taken the position of Khamron, who has been described in negative terms throughout the story. The more likely interpretation is that the narrator has first reversed the polarity between Chaweng and Jaemnapha, leaving the reader with her, and then has removed her from the immediate focus, leaving the reader in the centre of the room, the point at which all the characters place their interest at this moment of confusion, confrontation and danger.

Jaemnapha stands calmly at the window disobeying Khamron's commands to jump. Enraged, he rushes at her but the narrator does not use *pay* or *maa* in this sentence, choosing instead the wording *thalân* 'to rush at' *khâw* 'toward the centre of interest'. The orientations established with *pay* and *maa*, now in confusion at this moment of crisis, are not called on here. The reader still views things as though from the centre of the room while the hero hides in the corner, and the heroine, now 'the centre of interest', stands at the window. As Khamron rushes at Jaemnapha he prepares to hit her; the narrator describes her possible fall from the building in 145, using the expected 'away from the speaker', and also away from the scene of the action.

In number 146 the focus again abruptly shifts, this time back to Chaweng. The sound of the camera tells Khamron that he has been observed, and he whirls 'toward the speaker' to confront Chaweng. Because of this modification, the reader is once again given a definite point of view; as Chaweng prepares to move into action, the reader is told to see things from his perspective.

Numbers 147 and 148 show the expected focus, both indicating action away from Chaweng with no special direction intended. Finally, number 149 returns the polarity between Chaweng and Jaemnapha to the established norm, with him as the immediate focus and her as the remote focus; he is again the centre of action and the direction of his turn to her is 'away from the speaker'. As they are joined, now both safe, the narrator and reader are again comfortably viewing the situation from Chaweng's perspective, the confusion and distortion of relationships of the recent moments resolved.

## Summary

Students of Thai sometimes express the feeling that Thai prose is rather flat and uninteresting. This is at least partly due to the fact that English and Thai text building strategies are very different, and that students fail to recognise or understand those features of Thai that are available for exploitation by Thai authors. A particularly important example is the use of *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' in modern Thai prose. English does not have any text building device comparable to the

use of *pay* and *maa*, and these words are usually overlooked by students of Thai, with a resulting loss of comprehension. It has been the aim of this study to demonstrate through a detailed examination of a modern Thai short story that there is complexity and subtlety in Thai prose, and that it can be appreciated by speakers of English once those grammatical features of Thai that are exploited in text building are explained and illustrated.

The study shows that throughout the text the characters use *pay* and *maa* in a manner that is consistent with the deictic constraints that operate in normal conversation. Whether for use as what Noss defines as a modal, a predicate or a postposition, choice of one of the two words depends on physical, emotional and temporal relationships as perceived by the character speaking. In describing motion the characters select either their location at the moment of the event, or their location at the time of the conversation, as the immediate focus around which to orient that motion. The characters also use *pay* and *maa* in a similar manner to reflect emotional relationships. Time relationships, too, are handled in the expected manner; the moment of speaking is selected as the immediate focus, and points in both past and future time are used as remote focus points. Narration by a character in the story of events of a prior time calls for complex reordering of both physical and temporal relationships. There are also examples in the story of what Clark refers to as evaluative deixis and normal state deixis; these follow expected patterns.

The omniscient narrator, unlike the characters in the story, is not constrained by physical or temporal considerations in selection of *pay* and *maa*. Rather than making these selections in order to conform to reality, the narrator chooses one or the other of the words in order to create perspective for the reader, in effect, to create reality. The narrator's comments function as an overlay of information that gives an additional dimension to both the events and the dialogue of the story. By using the directional significance of the two words, the narrator creates a number of polarities between the characters that are manipulated throughout the story to create focus for the reader and to involve the reader in the story by creating sympathy for, or drawing attention to, specific characters.

Examination of the use of *pay* and *maa* on the text level reveals an unexpectedly subtle manipulation of the two words that is not reflected in studies of these words as they are used on the sentence level. While the present study deals directly only with one pair of words, similar pairs are also mentioned. They are the words *khûn* 'to ascend' and *lɔŋ* 'to descend' and *khâw* 'to enter' and *ʔòk* 'to exit'; although these words play a smaller part in Thai text building their role is still significant. Exploitation of these pairs of contrasting words contributes greatly to the depth and complexity of Thai texts.







ปากก็แสบะส่งเสียงร้องกรี๊ด ๆ แต่กระนั้นหล่อนก็ยังโชคดี เพราะมีสามีที่รักใคร่ และเอ็นดูหล่อน ขำขันสำราญเสรี และเห็นใจชายหนุ่มผู้นั้นอยู่ตรงหน้าเขานี้ยิ่งนัก

เขวงคิดเพลินจนเกือบสะดุ้ง เมื่อคาร์ณเอ่ยขึ้นด้วยท่าที่เอาอกเอาใจว่า

"นี่คุณหมอเขวงเพื่อนของพี่จะ แจ่ม" เขาหันมาทางเขวงและกล่าวว่า "นี่แจ่มนภา ภรรยาของผมครับ"

นักสืบหนุ่มตกตะลึง เมื่อเห็นหน้าภรรยาของคาร์ณนัดดา สตรีสาวผู้นั่งอยู่ตรงหน้าเขานี้ มิได้มีส่วนใดคล้ายคลึงกับภาพที่เขาวาดไว้แม้แต่น้อย ผมยาวสลวยของหล่อนมีสีดำเป็นเงา รวบไว้ข้างหลังอย่างเรียบร้อย ใบหน้าของหล่อนเรียวคางมน เครื่องหน้าทุกส่วนจุ่มจึมน่ารัก มีแต่ดวงตาดำกลมเท่านั้นที่แห้งผากไร้แววว่อนรมย์ เมื่อมองสบตากัน เขวงแลเห็นความเกลียดกลัวฉายออกมาอย่างชัดเจนทางดวงตาคู่นั้น

"เขิงนั่นซิคครับ" เขวงลุกขึ้นเลื่อนเก้าอี้ให้หล่อน แจ่มนภามิได้ไหว้ชายหนุ่มในฐานะเพื่อนของสามี เป็นแต่ทรุดกายลงนั่งอย่างเสียไม่ได้

"มีธุระอะไรกับดิฉันหรือคะ?" หล่อนถามเสียงหวาน มองดูชายหนุ่มอย่างรังเกียจและหวาดระแวงอย่างเปิดเผย โดยไม่คิดจะปิดบัง แต่เขวงนิ่งส่งสารมากกว่าจะนึกโกรธ 'ใครจะไปถือคนบ้า' เขานึกในใจ และตอบหล่อนด้วยเสียงอ่อนโยนว่า

"ผมตั้งใจจะมาอาศัยพักอยู่ที่นี้ชั่วคราว หวังว่าคุณคงจะไม่รังเกียจ"

"รังเกียจ" เจ้าหล่อนทวนคำ เลิกคิ้วสูงอย่างเยาะ ๆ ทำให้แลเห็นดวงตาโตขึ้นอีก "ดิฉันมีสิทธิ์อะไรจะรังเกียจ ดิฉันเคยเป็นเจ้าของบ้านนี้ก็จริง แต่เดี๋ยวนี้..."

"แจ่มนภา" สามีของหล่อนขัดขึ้นด้วยเสียงกระด้างผิดกับเมื่อครู่ก่อนเป็นคนละคน แต่เมื่อรู้สึกตัว เขาก็รีบเปลี่ยนเสียงเป็นนุ่มนวลอย่างเก่า "เรอกำลังจะไม่สบายอีกแล้วละจ๊ะ พี่จะพาเธอไปพักผ่อนเสียก่อน" เขาตรงเข้าไปที่เก้าอี้ภรรยา

ประคองหล่อนให้ลุกขึ้นจากเก้าอี้ด้วยอาการตะนุถนอม แต่หญิงสาวกลับผละหนีอย่างหวาดกลัว

"อย่า อย่าทำดิฉันเลย ดิฉันกลัวแล้ว" หล่อนสะบัดแขนหลุดจากการเกาะกุมของสามี และวิ่งออกจากห้องไป คำนวณเดินตามไปถึงประตู เขาชะโงกหน้าออกไปสั่งคนใช้ให้ดูแลคุณผู้หญิงให้ดี แล้วก็เดินกลับเข้ามา เมื่อสบตากับเขวง เขาก็ส่ายหน้าอย่างท้อใจ และว่า

"ดูเถอะครับ เป็นยังงี้เสมอ ใครไม่รู้ก็จะเข้าใจผิดว่าผมนี่คงจะคิดฆ่าเธอจริง ๆ ...คุณหมอคิดว่าจะมีทางรักษาไหมครับ"

"ผมยังไม่แน่ใจ" เขวงตอบ รู้สึกสลดใจในชะตากรรมของหญิงสาวผู้น่าสงสารและเห็นใจสามี ผู้ต้องพลอยรับเคราะห์ของหล่อนเป็นอย่างยิ่ง

"เอ้อ...คุณหมอครับ" คำนวณขยับลงนั่งเก้าอี้ตัวที่อยู่ใกล้กันสลับหนุ่มที่สุด เขาลดเสียงให้เบาลงเมื่อกล่าวต่อไปว่า "เวลานี้ผมกำลังกลัวว่า ถ้าแจ่มเกิดคลังโดดตกลงไป โดยที่ใคร ๆ ช่วยจับไว้ไม่ทัน ผมจะเลยพลอยแยะไปด้วย"

"แยะยังงั้นครับ" เขวงถามอย่างไม่เข้าใจ

"อ้าว ตำรวจก็จะเหมาว่าผมฆ่าเธอ เพราะหวังสมบัตินะซิครับ ผมเคยคิดจะย้ายห้องเธอลงไปอยู่ข้างล่างเพื่อความปลอดภัย ก็กลัวชาวบ้านจะนินทา เพราะบ้านนี้ก็ เป็นของแจ่มเอง"

"....."

'อ้อ ถ้อยคำเหล่านี้ยืนยันคำพูดของแจ่มนภา เมื่อสักครู่นี้' เขวงคิด

"ผมยังมีความหวังอยู่ว่า บันทึกของหมอจะช่วยเป็นพยานให้ผมได้" คำนวณพูดขึ้นอีกอย่างเป็นทุกข์เป็นร้อน "คุณหลวงท่านได้บันทึกพฤติการณ์ของแจ่มไว้โดยละเอียดแล้ว เป็นต้นว่า เธอพยายามโดดระเบียงบ้าง โดดหน้าต่างบ้าง แต่ผมช่วยไว้ทันทุกที ยิ่งตอนนี้คุณหมอมายูด้วย คุณหมอคงช่วยเป็นพยานให้ผมได้ว่า ผมบริสุทธิ์"



„ក្រុង កន្ទុយ កណ្តាល ក្នុង គោរព ក្រុង កំពង់ចាម“

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

॥ ॐ नमः ॥

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

“ ៥១ ខែ ២០ កក្កដា ២០១៧ ២០ កក្កដា ២០១៧ ” ២ បុគ្គល នៅក្នុង ក្រុម

[illegible]









“ក្រុងក្រុង ៤២៤ បង្កើតឡើង

[illegible][illegible]

“၆၈၆၂

[illegible]

[illegible]

១២១ ក្រុមហ៊ុន ២២ ក្រុមហ៊ុន ២២

[illegible]

“ឯ ២០៩ អង្គ ១ ក្រម

ក្រេមឆ្នាំ២០១១... ប្រធានអង្គនៃមហាស្ថានបាល, អ្នកបោះពុម្ព, ឆ្នាំ២០១១, រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ

“ឯសមាសព្រះនរោត្តមក្នុងមូលដ្ឋានក្នុង ពេលនោះ រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ

[illegible]







## Appendix II Translation

### Scene 1

When Chaweng, a young detective with the Central Investigation Bureau, strode (1) into the clinic of Luang Khajat Rokhaphinat, a famous psychiatrist who was also his father, it happened that Luang Khajat had a guest. Just as the young man was wondering whether he should go (2) wait in the back, his father called to him,

"Chaweng, come (3) right in and meet Mr Khamron... . Well, here he is, Doctor Chaweng, my son". The last words were spoken as Luang Khajat turned (4) to address his young guest.

Chaweng walked (5) straight in and greeted the young patient named Khamron, at the same time sizing up (6) his father's guest. Mr Khamron was a tall man with rather swarthy complexion and small slanted eyes. In those eyes Chaweng saw a light of some kind, like that of suffering or anxiety, which he could not read clearly. He sat down in the chair beside his father and asked,

"Is there something you called (7) me here to talk about?"

"Yes, there is", his father replied, and turning (8) to speak to Khamron in very distinct words said, "Here he is, my capable assistant, whom I intend to send (9) to check on your wife's condition".

The young man opened his mouth to object to his father's words, but then closed it again in silence. Khamron turned (10) to look at Chaweng admiringly and asked,

"Aren't you feeling well today, Doctor? Is that why you didn't come (11) to work?"

Chaweng was (12) speechless for a moment, and then decided to play along. But how could he answer that he was given his superior's permission to take a two week leave of absence, after completing (13) the investigation of a recent murder case, only two or three days ago (14)? The young man had absolutely no idea why his father had promoted him to both physician and assistant!

"Chaweng was a little under the weather, that's all", Luang Khajat answered for Chaweng, and went on (15), "I would like to ask for your address, and I will have him prepare to go (16) to your home as quickly as possible".

Khamron reached into his pocket and took out a business card which he handed to the physician and, having taken leave of Luang Khajat, he turned (17) to gesture respectfully to Chaweng, saying,

"I want to thank you in advance, Doctor; if my wife recovers I will repay you handsomely".

When the young stranger had departed (18) Chaweng turned to his father, ready to quiz him for an explanation, but Luang Khajat quickly raised his hand to stop him and explained,

"I'll tell you all about it. It's like this. This Khamron here came (19) to consult with me about his wife, who, he said, is insane. At first she seemed just as normal as you and me. Unaware of any problem, he went (20) and fell in love with her and asked to marry her. But on the wedding

day it came out that the bride was demented and would have nothing to do with him. She only screamed and wouldn't let him near her. In the end, why, they separated!"

Chaweng listened, and with his hand stroked his chin, which showed traces of a dark beard; he seemed deep in thought. He asked,

"And so then Khamron came (21) to see you to ask you to cure his wife, right? How come he didn't bring (22) her in?"

"Well, like I said, his wife is afraid of her husband. How could he bring (23) her in? If he goes near her she just causes an uproar, saying her husband is going to choke her, or that he's going to push her out a window. Khamron says that he's about to go crazy himself".

"Hmm." Chaweng nodded his head in careful consideration and Luang Khajjat continued (24),

"And that's not all. When his wife is at her most delirious, she climbs, sometimes out the window, sometimes over the railing. As soon as he goes (25) and grabs (26) her, she says he's going to push her; she fills (27) the whole area with calls for help".

"And you're going to send (28) me to cure her? How can that be (29)? I've never studied any medicine! The young man shrugged his shoulders not knowing what to think. His father explained,

"I don't want you to go (30) cure her. I want you to go (31) find out the real reason for her insanity, what's troubling her, or who has made her so terrified that she's lost (32) her senses that way".

"Right", Chaweng agreed. "When we know the cause, the cure will be easy. So that's what made your trick Khamron about me being a doctor; you think he's hiding something, don't you?"

"That's it. There a lot of things in his story that make me suspicious, so I thought I'd send (33) you in there to take a look".

"OK. I'll try", the young man said with enthusiasm.

## Scene 2

The mansion of Mr Khamron Phongphrom, located in Thungmahamek, majestic though a bit dilapidated, showed clearly the status of its owner. Chaweng, carrying a small travelling bag, reached (34) the house in the afternoon of the next day, and after telling the doorman of his business, the young man was taken (35) to meet the owner.

Khamron received the psychiatrist, as he thought him to be, graciously. He sent a maid to call (37) his wife, saying,

"Inform your mistress that my friend is a doctor and very kind, and that I would like her to come out (38) and speak with us for a while".

The maid curtsied and backed (39) out of the room. Chaweng noted that Khamron displayed openly his love and pity for his wife, both in the tone and the words of the message he sent (40) to her. Chaweng felt overwhelmed with sadness when he imagined the unfortunate woman. Her

face might still have traces of beauty left, but she would be wide-eyed with fear, with hair dishevelled because of her madness and her mouth twisted with screams, but fortunate nonetheless because she had a devoted husband who felt compassion for her. An admirable and sympathetic figure, this young man sitting across from him!

Chaweng was so lost in reverie that he nearly jumped when Khamron spoke up tenderly,

"This is my friend, Doctor Chaweng, Jaem, Dear". Turning (41) in Chaweng's direction he said, "This is Jaemnapha, my wife".

The young detective was stunned when his eyes came to rest on the face of Khamron's wife! The young woman standing in front of him bore no resemblance whatever to the mental picture he had drawn. Her face was oval, and her chin was rounded. All of her features were petite and lovely. It was only those eyes! Dark and round, but with no light of happiness in them. When their eyes met Chaweng saw hate and fear gleaming (42) clearly from those eyes.

"Please sit down." Chaweng stood up and pushed a chair toward her. Jaemnapha extended no greeting to her husband's friend; she simply dropped into the chair.

"Do you have business with me?" she asked shortly. She stared at the young man with aversion and suspicion, and made no attempt to conceal her feelings. But Chaweng felt more pity than anger. Who could be offended (43) by a lunatic, he thought, and answered her courteously,

"I would like to come (44) stay here for a while. I hope you won't mind".

"Mind?" she repeated. She raised her eyebrows and widened her eyes in derision. "What right have I to mind? It's true, I was once the owner of this house, but now ..."

"Jaemnapha!" her husband interrupted harshly, not at all like a moment before, as though a different person. But when he caught himself he quickly reverted to his previous, soothing tones. "You're starting to feel ill again, Dear. I'll take (45) you to get some rest". He went (46) straight to his wife's chair to help her up gently, but she shrank away in fear.

"Don't! Don't hurt me. I'm afraid of you!" She shook her arms free of her husband's grasp and ran (47) out of the room. Khamron followed (48) her to the door, leaned (49) his head out to order a servant to watch over her mistress carefully, and then returned (50). When he caught Chaweng's eye he shook his head in dejection and said,

"Look at her. She's always like this. Anyone who didn't know better might suspect that I really wanted to kill her. Do you think there might be a way to cure her?"

"I'm not sure yet", Chaweng answered. He felt sorrow at the misfortune of this pitiful young woman and compassion for her husband who had to share her misfortune.

"Ahh... Doctor", Khamron moved in to sit on the chair closest to the young detective and lowered his voice to continue (51), "I'm beginning to be afraid. If Jaem should become delirious and jump (52) out a window with no one there to stop her in time, why, I'll be (53) in a terrible fix".

"How is that?" Chaweng asked, perplexed.

"Why, the police will jump to the conclusion that I killed her for her money! I've considered moving (54) her to a room downstairs for safety's sake, but I'm afraid of the gossip; after all, the house does belong to Jaem".

"..."

"Ahh. That backs up what Jaemnapha said a moment ago", Chaweng thought.

"I'm still hoping your notes will support me", Khamron said sadly. "Your father already took detailed notes about Jaem's conduct, like trying to jump over the railing or out the windows, but I've always been able to help in time. Even more now that you've come (55) to stay here, you'll be able to attest to my innocence".

"You should protect her from danger in every way possible, Chaweng reminded him severely, "not just worry about your own safety".

"I do always watch over her", Khamron said defensively. He lost (56) his composure for a moment, but his expression quickly returned to normal. He continued (57), "But I have a lot of work; I'm afraid that when I'm not home the servants will be careless and an accident might happen. That's why I have to be concerned about avoiding any possible suspicion".

"All right. I understand", Chaweng nodded. "If something happens beyond your control I'll be glad to speak in your behalf. You shouldn't worry needlessly; heaven always helps the virtuous".

### Scene 3

For the two days that Chaweng stayed with the young couple he didn't have a chance to speak alone with Jaemnapha, that unfortunate woman. He saw her only at mealtimes, when her husband was always present. The young man noticed that Jaemnapha wouldn't be the first to eat from a dish of food, and that she insisted on helping herself to rice and water. Any time her husband served her rice or poured water for her, she wouldn't eat until the servants had brought (58) her a new cup or plate. Khamron caught Chaweng's eye each time, as if asking him to note his wife's conduct. As for Chaweng, he could only sigh with a sad and heavy heart.

The next (59) day Khamron declared that he had business which made it necessary that he leave home. He invited Chaweng to go (60) along, but when Chaweng declined, he reversed himself and put off going (61), deciding to stay home all day instead, which caused the detective no small surprise. So when, on the next day, Khamron repeated the invitation, Chaweng hastened to accept, and the two young men left (62) the house together. While they were riding (63) in Khamron's car, the young owner of the vehicle asked,

"Where do you plan to go (64) today, Doctor?"

"Several places, but I'm going to stop at the clinic first. I want to talk to my father".

"And when are you going back? When I've finished my errands, I'll stop (65) by and pick you up", Khamron continued (66), and waited intently for a reply. With a smile the young detective answered,

"Thank you. Then please stop for me at the clinic at 5 pm. After I see my father I'm going to a movie".

When Chaweng met his father that morning, Luang Khajat asked immediately,

"How's it going Chaweng; what have you come (67) up with?"

"Nothing", the young man answered with a laugh. "I'm not sure whether Khamron hired (68) (69) me to treat his wife or to be a witness to his innocence. He never gives me a chance to talk with his wife alone. Whenever I'm about to ask Jaemnapha something he always interrupts. And the servants; they're hopeless! It doesn't matter which one I try (70) to talk to; they all act like they've forgotten (71) how to talk. But even though I haven't gotten anything certain yet, I'm sure there's something peculiar hidden in that house".

"You think that it's this 'something peculiar' that's made Jaemnapha lose (72) her senses, right?" his father asked. The young man answered, "I suspect that's the way it is. Sometimes I think Jaemnapha is as normal as you or I, but she's so distrustful! She sees everyone as her second most dangerous enemy".

"And who's the first?"

"Why, Khamron! She believes him to be her number one enemy. She both hates and fears him. She detests the very sight of him even though he bends over backwards for her".

"So what do we do next (73)? Tell him we give up? Maybe it would be better to put her in a hospital", his father said, asking his opinion.

"No, not yet. I still have hopes of clearing this thing up in a day or two. If we can find out the source of her illness we might be able to help her. I really feel sorry for her". As he said these last words, the young man's voice shook with emotion. Luang Khajat looked at his son with a smile, but did not reply. So Chaweng continued (74), "I want to slip (75) into that house and check out the situation without letting Khamron know; maybe I'll come up with something. Khamron is going (76) to pick me up here at five. If he comes (77) before I get back please get him talking to give me time. I told him I was going (78) to a movie".

The learned psychiatrist knitted his eyebrows when he heard his son's bold plan and cautioned him,

"Be careful, Son; don't let him accuse you of breaking in".

"Guaranteed, Dad! I'm good at getting into houses without letting the owner know about it. But even if something should go wrong, I'm not worried, because the name of Chaweng Khajat Rokhapinat is well known in police circles."

#### **Scene 4**

Chaweng was able to get (79) into his hiding place in the garden behind Khamron's home by slipping (80) through the fence. He turned (81) to look all around him cautiously. The flowers, which looked as though at one time they had received attention to keep them orderly and beautiful, now were unkempt from lack of care. This was, however, useful for the young man; it would conceal his approach (82) to the mansion which rose majestically before him.

The young man spotted the room on the left side of the house which he knew to be that of Jaemnapha Phongphrom, the pitiful young woman. There was a balcony to the left side of the room and there was a large tree close enough to the rear window that, from it, one could reach the window sill and pull (83) himself inside, avoiding the use of either the large stairway at the front of the building or the small one at the rear.

He crept (84) up a bit closer, eyeing the base of a large tree covered with large red blossoms, as a possible hiding place, but ... what was that? On a white stone bench beneath the tree sat a young woman. She wore a Chiangmai style skirt of brilliant colour and a chiffon blouse of the same shade; it was the colour of a clear bright sky, certainly appropriate for a woman with the name 'Cloudless Firmament' (Jaemnapha).

But the young man's joyful mood quickly evaporated when he saw the young woman bury her face in her hands. Even though so far away that he couldn't hear her sobbing, the young man could read the anguish of her heart in her actions. As she bowed her head her long beautiful hair fell (85) to her lap, hiding her beautiful cheeks, like a black cloud that covers (86) the moon, hiding it from sight.

Without realising it, the young man strode (87) closer to her. At the sound of footsteps she lifted her head. The tears on her cheeks increased his pity and sympathy many fold. He put a finger to his lips as the young woman began to call out in terror.

"Don't shout, Mrs Jaemnapha! I'm not going to harm you!" he said as he sat down beside her. The young woman jumped back. Her dark but blank and sad eyes looked at him in fear, like a frightened doe.

"Don't kill me", she moaned, reaching out beseechingly, her eyes filled (88) with tears; it was a picture that deeply affected the young man. Even though the young woman grew rigid, he reached out his arms to hold her, and bent down to whisper gently in her ear,

"Don't cry. I won't hurt you. You needn't be afraid of me; I'm your friend and I'll help protect you from anything that threatens you. Please believe me".

Jaemnapha looked at the young man without belief. She shook herself free from his grasp and answered curtly and haughtily (89),

"Don't lie (90) to me! I know full well he brought (91) you here to kill me. He wouldn't dare kill me himself. And why is that? Because he's afraid that the fact that he murdered my father will be brought (92) out and investigated. I know". She repeated the words 'I know' two or three times and then burst into crazed laughter.

"Shh! Quiet, please, someone will hear you", Chaweng cautioned. He pulled her back down and used his handkerchief to dry the tears that still stood on her cheeks and on her beautiful curled eyelashes. His gentle actions, through which she could easily see his sincerity, left Jaemnapha speechless (93). She peered at him intently and asked,

"What do you want from me?"

"Nothing at all. I want to help you get over your suffering. You aren't well. Don't you realise that? I ... feel sorry for you", the young man answered with gentle tone and facial expression.

"Feel sorry for me", Jaemnapha repeated without taking her eyes off of the young man's face. "But ... you're his friend!"

"That's right, I'm his friend, but I feel sorry for you and I'm ready to help you. If there's anything on your mind that you want to tell me about, right now I am completely in the dark; I don't know anything at all. I really want to help you, but I don't know how", Chaweng answered. He took (94) the young woman's hand and continued (95), "Please trust me. If I were one of his men why would I have to sneak (96) in to meet you without letting him know? I took the trouble of slipping (97) in through the back fence hoping to meet you alone, so that I could find out about your problems and find a way to help".

"Are you really going to help me?" the young woman asked again. She moved (98) a bit closer to the young man and whispered softly, "He's going to kill me. Do you believe me? Khamron is going to kill me".

"I do believe you", Chaweng hastened to agree, "but ... why?"

"Why, because I saw him kill my father. He took a knife this long and went (99) in to threaten my father". She held up her hands to show the length. "He demanded that my father write a will leaving all of his property to him. He had written (100) it all out and demanded that my father sign it ..."

"Actually that's a stupid thing to do, since when he married you he as much as received rights to the inheritance. I don't see any need for threats", said Chaweng, thinking out loud. So the woman explained,

"You still don't understand. My father was reluctant to let me marry Khamron, but I insisted on it. So he gave in and arranged the wedding because he was afraid that I would run (101) away with Khamron and disgrace him. My father announced that on the day after my wedding he would give all of his possessions to charity, and that as for himself, he would go (102) to live in an old people's home. He had it all prearranged (103). Khamron realised that my father was really going to go through with it, and took the opportunity to go (104) up and threaten him on the very morning of our marriage. After the morning ceremonies were finished, the guests who had come (105) to participate gathered (106) downstairs. My father went (107) upstairs to lie down and Khamron followed (108)".

"He stabbed your father?"

"He didn't have to. My father had a bad heart; as soon as Khamron only just touched (109) him with the knife, my father collapsed dead on the floor. I happened to be upstairs. When I heard him threaten my father I rushed (110) into the room, just as he touched the knife to my father's throat. When I realised that he was dead, I fainted (111) dead away. When I came to, Khamron threatened me; if I told anybody he would kill me. I'm really afraid of him". Her face had the same frightened expression that Chaweng had seen frequently. Gently he squeezed her hand, which was still in his, and consoled her,

"You don't have to be afraid. I'll protect you. He can't do anything to you as long as I'm still alive".



"You believe me!" she exclaimed. "No one believes me at all. My old servants believed Khamron when he said that I was crazy. That day, by the time we had taken (112) father's body to the temple, it was just dark, so we didn't have the water-pouring ceremony. Everyone thought that I shouldn't be alone and that we should just move in together, but I didn't want to. People said that I was so upset over father's death that I went crazy. Do you think I'm crazy or not?"

"Not at all", Chaweng answered instantly. "You're just very unfortunate ... here now, did you come (113) down here alone?"

"Yes. I was surprised not to find anyone watching me today. Before, every time I left my room the servants would follow me and never let me out of their sight. They were afraid that I'd jump out of a window". There was bitter laughter in her throat. It occurred (114) to Chaweng that that morning he had heard Khamron send two of the male servants to repair some damage to the front fence. As for the three female servants, he gave them the job of gathering (115) up the silverware and washing and polishing it. And the place for washing dishes was (116) far off on the right side of the building. The young man came (117) to the realisation that if anything bad were to happen in Jaemnapha's room, none of the servants would hear it.

"I think that you should get back upstairs. If anyone should come (118) along and see us together it wouldn't be good", he advised her. "I guarantee I'll find a way to help you. Please trust me".

Jaemnapha rose obediently; she looked into his eyes as if about to ask something, but then didn't open her mouth. She turned away and walked (119) slowly toward the building. Chaweng got up. As he was thinking about what to do next (120), he had to hide behind the trunk of the tree because behind him he heard a crackling sound like that of feet stepping on dry leaves. In a moment Khamron, turning restlessly to look all about him, walked (121) up from the same direction from which Chaweng had come (122). 'Why has he returned (123), and why does he have to use the back way?' were the questions that popped into Chaweng's mind.

The young man saw Khamron walk (124) straight for the building. He paused momentarily when he reached the base of the rear stairs, and only after seeing that he was alone, he removed his shoes and hid them under a bush. In his stocking feet, he climbed (125) the stairs. Chaweng's thoughts raced (126) instantly to Jaemnapha. He moved as quickly as he thought. Making (127) straight for the tree, he took off his shoes and nimbly climbed (128) up. In an instant he grasped the window sill and hurled (129) himself inside.

## Scene 5

The young occupant of the room, who sat pre-occupied, was startled, but when she saw who it was she smiled in greeting. It was the first smile that Chaweng had seen appear on her delicately curved lips, but there was too little time to dwell on his happiness at seeing that smile. He made a sign to her to be silent and tiptoed (130) into the closet recess to hide. At that same second there was a knock on the door. Jaemnapha turned (131) to look at the young man. When she saw Chaweng nod she rose and went (132) to open the door. The person who appeared (133) was

Khamron, as expected, but what went beyond Chaweng's expectations was the gun in Khamron's hand. He made (134) straight for the young woman and snarled,

"Don't call out, my pretty little miss. If you let (135) out a word, I'll put (136) a bullet in your mouth".

Jaemnapha stood motionless. She glanced (137) for a second toward the closet recess and then turned (138) back to stare fixedly at the man who was her husband, although in name only. Khamron ordered her,

"Walk (139) over the to the window ... fast".

She slowly walked (140) to he French window and stopped. She turned (141) back coolly. This time her face showed not the slightest trace of fear.

"Climb (142) up and jump (143)", Khamron ordered in an even voice as if hypnotising her. But Jaemnapha didn't move; with both hands she firmly grasped the window frame. Her manner angered Khamron, so he raised his voice. "I tell you to jump (144), this minute! If you want an easy death, don't disobey me".

But Jaemnapha remained still. She met the scoundrel's gaze unflinchingly. Enraged, Khamron rushed at her, the hand with the gun raised high, ready to send her reeling (145) out and down with a blow of the weapon instead of just a push of the hand. At that instant a quiet 'click' was heard in the room. Chaweng was able to take a picture just in time with the miniature camera he always carried. Khamron whirled (146) around. In the same instant Chaweng tossed (147) the camera to the bed and darted in to grab Khamron's gun-hand. He grasped his opponent and threw him down with a judo hold. There was a resounding crunching sound as the form of Khamron fell (148) to the floor, unconscious.

Chaweng turned (149) toward the young woman. He opened his arms and without hesitation Jaemnapha rushed into his warm, firm embrace.

## Appendix III Word-by-word gloss

Abbreviations:	C	classifier
	P	particle
	PN	proper name
	T	title

## Scene 1

## A. Luang Khajat

3. *chawɛɛj maa rúucàk khun khamron sǐasii...*  
 PN come khaw T PN P  
 Chaweng, come right in and meet Mr Khamron ...
9. *sǔj phǒm tǎncay ca sǒj pay duu ʔaakaan phanrayaa khǒj khun*  
 who I intend P send go look condition wife of you  
 ... whom I intend to send to check on your wife's condition.
16. *ca hǎy khǎw triamtua pay thǐi bǎan khun...*  
 P have he prepare go at house you  
 ... (I) will have him prepare to go to your home ...
19. *naay khamron nǐnàʔ maa pràksǎa phǒ...*  
 T PN P come consult father  
 This Khamron here came to consult with me...
20. *khǎw mây rúu kǒ pay chǒp phǒ rǎkkrây...*  
 he P know P go like enough love  
 Unaware of any problem, he went and fell in love (with her)...
23. *ca phaa maa yǎngay*  
 P lead come how  
 How could he bring her in?
- 25/26. *...ca loj thaaj nǎatǎaj bǎaj thaaj lǔukroŋ bǎaj*  
 P descend way window some way baluster some  
 ...(she climbs), sometimes out the window, sometimes over the railing.  
*phǒ pay càp pay yút wáy...*  
 enough go grab go grasp retain  
 As soon as he goes and grabs her...
27. *... rǒj rǐak hǎy khon chúay lân thǔj pay mòt*  
 cry call have person help resound field go all  
 ... (she) fills the whole area with calls for help.
- 30/31. *...ca hǎy kɛɛ pay ráksǎa tèe phǒ tǒŋkaan hǎy kɛɛ pay sǔup...*  
 P have you go care but father want have you go check  
 ...(I don't) want you to go treat her. I want you to go find out...

32. ...*con sǎa satì? pay yaŋŋan*  
 until ruin senses go thus  
 ...(so terrified) that she's lost her senses that way.
33. ...*ca sòŋ kɛɛ khâw pay sǎŋkèet kaan*  
 P send you enter go observe activity  
 ..I thought I'd send you in there to take a look.

## B. Chaweng

7. *khun phôo mii thurá? ʔaray rǎu kháp thǎŋ dây*  
 T father have work what P P to have  
 Is there something you called me here to talk about?
- thoorásàp rǎak phǒm maa*  
 telephone call I come
21. ...*maa hǎa khun phôo...*  
 come find T father  
 ...(he) came to see you...
22. *thammay kháw mây phaa lòn maa dūay lâ*  
 why he P lead she come also P  
 How come he didn't bring her in?
28. *léew khun phôo ca sòŋ phǒm pay ráksǎa lòn*  
 then T father P send I go care she  
 And you're going to send me to treat her?
29. *pen pay dây yaŋŋay*  
 be go get how  
 How can that be?

## C. Khamron

11. *cəŋ mây dây maa thamŋaan*  
 so not get come work  
 Is that why you didn't come to work?

## D. Narrator

1. ...*kāawtháaw khâw pay nay khliiník...*  
 stride enter go in clinic  
 ...(he) strode into the clinic...

2. ...*ca khâw pay khooy lăŋ rǎan...*  
 P enter go wait back store  
 ...(whether he) should go wait in the back...
4. ...*hǎn pay klàaw kèe..*  
 turn go say for  
 ...(he) turned to address (his young guest).
- 5/6. *chaweeŋ dǎen troŋ khâw pay... phrǎomkàp phícaaránaa bùkhalík*  
 PN walk straight enter go simultaneously consider appearance  
 Chaweng walked straight in ... at the same time sizing up his
- khǒŋ khantùkà khǒŋ bìdaa pay dūay*  
 of guest of father go also  
 father's guest.
8. ...*lê? hǎn pay klàaw kàp khamron...*  
 and turn go say with PN  
 ...and, turning to speak to Khamron...
10. *khamron hǎn maa mǒŋduu chaweeŋ..*  
 PN turn come look at PN  
 Khamron turned to look at Chaweng.
12. *chaweeŋ ?ûŋ pay nítuŋ...*  
 PN speechless go little  
 Chaweng was speechless for a moment...
- 13/14. ...*sèt-sín pay léew mǔa sǒŋ sǎam wan maa ní*  
 finish go already when two three day come this  
 ...after completing (the investigation) ...only two or three days ago.
15. ...*thǎam tòopay*  
 ask continue  
 ...(and) went on... (See introduction.)
17. ...*kháw hǎn maa wáy chaweeŋ*  
 he turn come 'way' PN  
 ...he turned to gesture respectfully to Chaweng...
18. *mǔa chaaynùm plèeknâa laa klàp pay léew*  
 when young man strange leave return go already  
 When the young stranger had departed,  
*chaweeŋ kô hǎn khâw hǎa bìdaa...*  
 PN P turn enter find father  
 Chaweng turned to his father...

24. ... *kô lăw tồpay...*  
       P tell continue  
       ... (he) continued... (See introduction.)

## Scene 2

### A. Chaweng

43. *khay ca pay thũu khon baa kháw núk nay cay...*  
       who P go hold person crazy he think in heart  
       Who could be offended by a lunatic, he thought...
44. *phỏm tângcay ca maa ʔaasăyphák yùu thĩ nĩ chũakhraaw*  
       I intend P come reside stay at here interval  
       I would like to come stay here for a while.

### B. Khamron

38. ...*khỏo hây thặ ʔỏk maa khuy kan khângỏỏk...*  
       request have she leave come speak with outside  
       ... (and that) I would like her to come out and speak with us...
45. ...*phĩi ca phaa thặ pay phákphỏn*  
       older sibling P lead you go rest  
       ...I'll take you to get some rest.
- 52/53. ...*thầ cẻm kỏt khlâng dỏt tẻk loẻ pay*  
       if PN happen delirious jump building descend go  
       ...if Jaem should become delirious and jump out a window,  
       *phỏm ca lỏy phỏỏy yẻ pay dủay*  
       I P so follow bad go also  
       why, I'll be in a terrible fix.
54. *phỏm khẻy khít ca yẻay hỏẻ thặpay yùu khânglảẻ...*  
       I ever think P move room she go stay below  
       I've considered moving her to a room downstairs...
55. *yẻẻ tỏỏn nẻ khủn mỏỏ maa yùu dủay...*  
       especially period this T doctor come stay also  
       Even more now that you've come to stay here...

### C. Narrator

34. *chawẻẻ hủw krapẻẻ dẻẻnthảẻẻ bay lẻẻklẻẻk pay thẻẻẻ thĩ nẻn...*  
       PN carry bag travel C small go reach at that  
       Chaweng, carrying a small travelling bag, reached (the house)...

35. ...*thùuk nam pay phóp cáawkhǒng bāan*  
       P lead go meet owner house  
       ...(he) was taken to meet the owner.
- 36/37. *kháw hây sǎawcháy pay chǎen phanrayaa ?òok maa...*  
       he have maid go invite wife exit come  
       He sent the maid to call his wife...
39. ...*lé? thǒy ?òok càak hǒng pay*  
       and withdraw exit from room go  
       ...and (she) backed out of the room.
40. ...*lé? sǎmnuan thîi sǎng khwaam pay thǎng lòn*  
       and expression which order message go to she  
       ...and the words of the message he sent to her.
41. *kháw hǎn maa thaang chaweeŋ lé? klàaw wāa...*  
       he turn come way PN and speak say  
       Turning in Chaweng's direction, he said...
42. *chaweeŋ hǎn khwaamkliat klua cháay ?òok maa...*  
       PN see hate fear shine exit come  
       Chaweng saw hate and fear gleaming (from those eyes)...
46. *kháw troŋ khâw pay thîi kâw?îi phanrayaa...*  
       he straight enter go at chair wife  
       He went straight to his wife's chair...
47. ...*lé? wîŋ ?òok càak hǒng pay*  
       and run exit from room go  
       ...and (she) ran out of the room.
48. *khamron dǎen taam pay thǎng pratuu*  
       PN walk follow go reach door  
       Khamron followed her to the door.
49. *kháw chaŋòok nâa ?òok pay...*  
       he lean face exit go  
       He leaned his head out...
50. ...*léew dǎen klàp khâw maa*  
       then walk return enter come  
       ...then (he) returned.
51. ...*klàaw tòopay*  
       speak continue  
       ...to continue, (See introduction.)

56. ...*nâa sǎa pay léknóoy*  
face break go little  
...(he) lost his composure for a moment.
57. ...*klàaw tòɔpay...*  
speak continue  
...(he) continued... (See introduction.)

### Scene 3

#### A. Khamron

64. *khun mǎo ca pay nǎy bāaŋ khráp wan ní*  
T doctor P go where some P day this  
Where do you plan to go today, Doctor?
65. *sèt thúra? léew phǎm ca wé? maa ráp*  
finish work already I P stop come receive  
When I've finished with my errands, I'll stop by and pick you up.

#### B. Luang Khajat

67. *pen ɲay chaweeŋ dǎy rǎaŋ ʔaray maa bāaŋ lâ?*  
be how PN get story what come some P  
How's it going Chaweng; what have you come up with?
72. ...*sǎa sàtǐ? pay ...*  
ruin senses go  
...lose (her) senses...
73. ...*tham yaŋŋan tòɔpay*  
make how continue  
...what do we do next? (See introduction.)

#### C. Chaweng

- 68/69. ...*cāaŋ phǎm pay ráksǎa mia kɛ rǎu phǎa pay khooy pen phayaan...*  
hire I go treat wife he or for go wait be witness  
...hired me to treat his wife or to be a witness (to his innocence).
- 70/71. *mây wāa phǎm ca pay sakít thǎam khon nǎy khāw man tham*  
P say I P go question ask person which enter it make  
It doesn't matter which one I try to talk to, they all  
*thāa mǎan kǎp pay tham pàak tòk hǎay*  
attitude same with go make mouth fall lose  
act like they've forgotten how to talk.



75. *...létlôot khâw pay...*  
sneak enter go  
...(I want) to slip into (that house)...
76. *naay khamron khâw ca maa ráp phôm...*  
T PN he P come receive I  
Khamron is going to pick me up...
77. *thâa khâw maa kôn phôm klâp...*  
if he come before I return  
If he comes before I get back...
78. *phôm bòok khâw wâa ca pay duu năŋ*  
I tell he say P go look film  
I told him I was going to a movie.

#### D. Narrator

58. *...conkwâa khonchây ca nam thûay rûu caan maa plian...*  
until servant P bring cup P plate come change  
...until the servants had brought her a new cup or plate.
59. *wan tào maa ...*  
day continue come  
The next day...
60. *khâw chuan chaween ?òok pay dūay...*  
he invite PN exit go also  
He invited Chaweng to go along ...
61. *...khâw kô klâp ɲót mây pay*  
he P return put off P go  
...he reversed himself and put off going...
62. *...kô dâi ?òok càak bâan pay dūaykan*  
P get exit from house go together  
... (they) left the house together.
63. *khanà?thîi nâŋ pay nay rôt...*  
while sit go in vehicle  
While they were riding in (Khamron's) car...
66. *...thăam tòopay*  
ask continue  
...(Khamron) continued ... (See introduction.)
74. *...klàaw tòopay ...*  
speak continue  
...(Chaweng) continued ... (See introduction.)

## Scene 4

## A. Chaweng

96. ...*thammay phǒm cəŋ tɔŋ ʔɛp maa phóp khun* ...  
 why I so must hide come meet you  
 ...why would I have to sneak in to meet you...
97. *phǒm ʔusàa mút rúa lǎŋ bāan khāw maa* ...  
 I exert crawl fence back house enter come  
 I took the trouble of slipping in through the back fence...
113. ...*lɛʔ nǐ khun loŋ maa khon diaw rǔu khráp*  
 and this you descend come person one P P  
 ...here now, did you come down here alone?
118. *khray maa hǎn raw yùu dūaykan* ...  
 anyone come see we stay together  
 If anyone should come along and see us together...

## B. Jaemnapha

90. *yàa maa lòokluəŋ dichán*  
 don't come deceive I  
 Don't lie to me!
91. ...*kháw chǎy khun maa khāa dichán*  
 he use you come kill I  
 ...he brought you here to kill me.
92. ...*khùtkhúy khǎn maa sòopsǎn*  
 dig up ascend come investigate  
 ... (will be) brought out and investigated.
99. *kháw ʔaw mǐt ...khāw pay khūu khun phōo*  
 he take knife enter go threaten T father  
 He took a knife ... and went in to threaten my father.
100. *kháw khǎn maa sət ləəy khā*  
 he write come finish P P  
 He had written it all out ...
101. ...*dichán ca nǐ taam kháw pay hǎy khǎaynāa thân*  
 I P flee follow he go have disgrace he  
 ...(that) I would run away with Khamron and disgrace him.
102. ...*sùn tua thân ʔeəŋ ca pay ʔaasǎy*  
 part body he himself P go reside  
 ... (and that) as for himself, he would go to live...

103. *thân pay tittòò wáy riapróoy léew*  
 he go contact retain complete already  
 He had it all prearranged.
104. *...thǔu ?ookàat khûn pay khùukhǎn khun phòò ...*  
 carry chance ascend go threaten T father  
 ... (he) took the opportunity to go up and threaten him ...
- 105/106. *...khèek thǐi maa chûay ñaan kò loŋ maa yùu khâŋlâaŋ*  
 guest which come help work P descend come stay below  
 ...the guests who had come to participate gathered downstairs.
- 107/108. *khun phòò khûn pay ?een lǎŋ kháw kò thǔu*  
 T father ascend go lean back he P carry  
 My father went upstairs to lie down and  
*?ookàat taam khûn pay*  
 opportunity follow ascend go  
 Khamron followed.
109. *...phòò kháw ?aw mǐit maa còò thǎwnán*  
 when he take knife come touch only  
 ...as soon as Khamron only just touched (him) with the knife ...
110. *...phlòò khâw pay nay hòŋ ...*  
 rush enter go in room  
 ...(I) rushed into the room ...
111. *...penlom sǐn sàtǐ? pay*  
 faint terminate senses go  
 ...(I) fainted dead away.
112. *...phòò ?aw sòp khun phòò pay wát ...*  
 when take body T father go temple  
 ...by the time we had taken father's body to the temple ...

### C. Narrator

- 79/80. *chaweeŋ khâw maa yuun ?èep yùu nay sǎan lǎŋ bâan*  
 PN enter come stand hide stay in garden back house  
 Chaweng was able to get into his hiding place in the garden  
*khǎoŋ naay khamron dǎy dooy wíthii mút rúa khâw maa*  
 of T PN get by method crawl fence enter come  
 behind Khamron's home by slipping through the fence.
81. *kháw lǎaw mǎoŋ pay rôopróop tua ...*  
 he turn look go about body  
 He turned to look all around him ...

82. ...*nay ?an thii ca fɛɛŋ tua khâw pay hây thǔŋ tək* ...  
 in thing which P conceal body enter go have reach building  
 ...it would conceal (his) approach to the mansion ...
83. ...*lɛ? nɔ̄aw tua khâw pay khâŋnay*  
 and pull body enter go inside  
 ...and pull himself inside ...
84. *látlót? khâw pay klây ?ik nítđiaw*  
 creep enter go close more little  
 He crept up a bit closer.
85. ...*sên phǝm yaaw dam salǔay khǝŋ lòn*  
 strand hair long dark neat of she  
 ...her long beautiful hair  
*hōy loŋ maa con thǔŋ tək* ...  
 hang descend come until reach lap  
 fell to her lap ...
86. ...*mǔan koon mēek sǐdam thii khlúan khâw maa bǝbaj đuanɕan*  
 same heap cloud black which move enter come hide moon  
 ...like a black cloud that covers the moon, hiding it from sight.
87. ...*chaaynùm kâawtháaw khâw pay klây lòn*  
 young man stride enter go close she  
 ...the young man strode closer to her.
88. ...*duangtaa tempay đúay nám sǎy*  
 eye filled with water clear  
 ...eyes filled with tears. (See introduction.)
89. ...*phûut đúay sǎŋ... tempay đúay khwaamthǔđii*  
 speak with voice... filled with conceit  
 ...(and she) answered... haughtily. (See introduction.)
93. ...*tham hây cèmnaphaa nǝŋ ɲan pay*  
 make have PN pause speechless go  
 ...left Jaemnapha speechless.
94. *kháw cǎp mɐu yǐŋsǎaw maa kum wáy* ...  
 he grasp hand young woman come hold retain  
 He took the young woman's hand ...
95. ...*kláaw tǝpay...*  
 speak continue  
 ... (he) continued... (See introduction.)
98. *lòn khayàp khâw maa klây chaaynùm nítđiaw*  
 she move enter come close young man little  
 She moved a bit closer to the young man ...

114. *chaweeŋ nǔk khun maa dāy wāa ...*  
 PN think ascend come get say  
 It occurred to Chaweng that ...
115. *...rǔu chǒon sōm thàat ɣən ?òok maa láaŋ ...*  
 gather spoon fork tray silver exit come wash  
 ...gathering up the silverware and washing (it) ...
116. *...yùu klay pay thaŋ dān khwǎa khǒŋ tua tǔk*  
 stay far go way side right of body building  
 ... (it) was far off on the right side of the building.
117. *hǔakhít khǒŋ chaaynùm lēn klay pay thǔŋ wāa ...*  
 thought of young man run far go reach say  
 The young man came to the realisation that ...
119. *lòn hǎn lǎŋ klàp dǎen troŋ pay yaŋ tǔk ...*  
 she turn back return walk straight go at building  
 She turned away and walked (slowly) toward the building ...
120. *...tham yaaŋray tòopay...*  
 make how continue  
 ...what to do next... (see introduction)
- 121/122. *...kô dǎen...maa càak thaŋ diawkàp thǔi khǎw phān maa lǎew*  
 P walk come from way same which he pass come already  
 ...(Khamron) walked up from the same direction from which Chaweng had come.
123. *naay khamron yǒn klàp maa thammay...pen panhǎa thǔi*  
 T PN retrace return come why be problem which  
 Why has he returned... were the questions that.  
*phút khun nay samǒŋ khǒŋ chaweeŋ*  
 pop up ascend in mind of PN  
 popped into Chaweng's mind.
124. *chaaynùm hēn khamron dǎen troŋ pay thǔi tǔk*  
 young man see PN walk straight go at building  
 The young man saw Khamron walk straight for the building.
125. *khǎw dǎen dūay thǎaw sǎam thǔŋ khun banday lǎŋ bān pay*  
 he walk with foot wear sock ascend stair back house go  
 In his stocking feet, he climbed the back stairs.
126. *cay khǒŋ chaweeŋ lēn pràat pay yaŋ cēmnap̄haa thanthii*  
 heart of PN run quickly go at PN instantly  
 Chaweng's thoughts raced instantly to Jaemnapha.
- 127/128. *khǎw cūŋ troŋ pay yaŋ tōnkrathūm...lě?piin khun pay*  
 he so straight go at evergreen... and climb ascend go  
 Making straight for the evergreen... (he) climbed up.

129. ...lê? wiaŋ tua khâw pay khâŋnay  
and hurl body enter go inside  
...and hurled himself inside.

## Scene 5

### A. Khamron

- 135/136. thâa ?âa pàak ?òok maa lá kô lûukp~~uun~~ man ca wîŋ khâw pay nay pàak  
if open mouth exit come P P bullet it P run enter go in mouth  
If (you) let out a word, I'll put a bullet in your mouth.
139. dæŋ pay thîi nâatàaŋ rew sii  
walk go at window fast P  
Walk over to the window, fast!
- 142/143. piin khûn pay léew kradòot loŋ pay khâŋlâaŋ ...  
climb ascend go then jump descend go below  
Climb up and jump ...
144. chán bòok hây kradòot loŋ pay dǎawaní  
I tell have jump descend go now  
I tell you to jump, this minute!

### B. Narrator

130. ...khâw pay sôn yùu thîi sôok tûu  
enter go hide stay at recess closet  
...(he tiptoed) into the closet recess to hide.
131. cèmnáphaa hǎn maa mœŋ chaaynùm  
PN turn come look young man  
Jaemnapha turned to look at the young man.
132. ...kô lúk khûn dæŋ pay pèat pratuu  
P arise ascend walk go open door  
...she rose and went to open the door.
133. phûu thîi phlòo khâw maa khuu khamron ...  
person who appear enter come be PN  
The person who appeared was Khamron...
134. khâw dæŋ rîi khâw maa hǎa yǐŋsǎaw ...  
he walk rush enter come find young woman  
He made straight for the young woman ...
- 137/138. lòn chamluəŋ pay thaəŋ sôok tûu wêep nœŋ  
she glance go way recess closet flash one  
She glanced for a second toward the closet recess
- léew kô klàp maa càp cōŋ ...  
then P return come grab stare  
and then turned back to stare fixedly (at her husband) ...

140. *yǐŋsǎaw khôykhôy dæŋ pay thîi nâatàŋ bèp farəŋsèt ...*  
 young woman slowly walk go at window kind French  
 The young woman slowly walked to the French window ...
141. *buan nâa klàp maa yàŋ yûakyeŋ*  
 turn face return come kind cool  
 She turned back cooly.
145. *...phróom thîi ca ləathêek lôn hây loŋ pay bûaŋ lăaŋ ...*  
 ready which P strike she have descend go side below  
 ...ready to send her reeling out and down (with a blow) ...
146. *khamron lǎaw khwàp maa*  
 PN turn spin come  
 Khamron whirled around.
147. *...chaweeŋ wiaŋ klôŋ pay thîi tiaŋ ...*  
 PN toss camera go at bed  
 ...Chaweng tossed the camera to the bed ...
148. *...kô loŋ pay nœn salòpsalăy yùu kàp phûuŋ hōŋ*  
 P descend go sleep pass out be with floor room  
 ...fell to the floor, unconscious.
149. *chaweeŋ hǎn pay hǎa yǐŋsǎaw*  
 PN turn go find young woman  
 Chaweng turned toward the young woman.

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# DIRECTIONAL AUXILIARIES IN DAAI CHIN

Helga Hartmann-So

## 0. Introduction

The Daai Chin language<sup>1</sup> belongs to the Southern Branch of the Kukish Section of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by approximately 30,000 people in the townships of Matupi, Mindat, Kanpetlet and Paletwa in the Southern Chin Hills of Burma.

Within the Chin language family Daai Chin is most closely related to M̄n Chin (also called Mindat Chin), Chin Pon (also called Ŭt P̄) and Matu Chin.

This paper is based on a dialect of Daai Chin spoken in Kanpetlet township.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. The auxiliary verb system in general

Preverbal auxiliaries. Eight preverbal auxiliaries have been found so far. All of them are directional and they are mutually exclusive. They are never used as main verbs, except *jǎng*.

Postverbal auxiliaries. The postverbal auxiliary system is much more complicated. There are more than fifty postverbal auxiliaries, which can be divided into several sets according to their position and meaning. The auxiliaries closest to the verb tend to be directionals, following them are causatives, reciprocals, attitudinals, phases, speech act indicators, and the like.

## 2. Preverbal auxiliaries

The eight preverbal auxiliaries form four pairs. Three of these pairs express the spatial directions forward, down and up. The fourth pair expresses the temporal direction 'in advance'. The pairs are divided by the two manners reaching out (physical or mental, without change of present position) and going.

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David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11: *South-East Asian syntax*, 81-92. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989.

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	forward	down	up	in advance
reaching out	<i>hei</i>	<i>juk</i>	<i>jän</i>	<i>na</i>
going	<i>va</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>jäng</i>	<i>ana</i>

Table 1: The preverbal auxiliaries

- a) **hei**<sup>3</sup> 'to V to the front, to V in forward direction, to V over there'

*kah hei pyen<sup>4</sup> kyo*  
 I forward speak futile  
 I speak to them over there (though without success)

*lóu hei бүк-а<sup>5</sup>*  
 field front look-IMP  
 look in front to the field

*lung sun ah hei xot-in*  
 stone this he forward throw-quick  
 he quickly throws the stone over there

- b) **va** 'to go and V to the front, to go and V in forward direction, to go and V over there'

*ah nih va-dou u*  
 he PL forward-greet mPL  
 go and greet them

*ím-a va-lut lü kah hmuh*  
 house-in forward-enter and I see  
 and I saw that he went and entered the house over there

*kah va-hmuh kti*  
 I forward-meet PRES  
 I go and meet (him) over there

- c) **juk** 'to V downwards, to reach down and V'

*juk kkhuui hlü be kti*  
 downward help want again PRES  
 he wants to help (him) again from above

*kahjuk péét*  
 I down give  
 I reach down and give

*juk pyén-a*  
 down speak-IMP  
 speak downwards

d) **ju** 'to go down and V'

*kah ju-lit lut ei be kkhai ni*  
 I down-go enter self again will indeed  
 I myself will go down and enter again

*ju-pe-a*  
 go-down-give-IMP  
 go down and give it

*ah ju-mtheh lo*  
 he go-down-tell come  
 he comes to the state of going down and telling

e) **jän** 'to V upwards, to reach upwards and V'

*ah jän kpyaai in*  
 he up discard quick  
 he quickly throws (it) away upward

*kah jän poh ei kkhai ni*  
 I up do self will indeed  
 I myself will reach upwards and do (it).

*jän kthäh be-a*  
 up ask again-IMP  
 ask again upwards (ask someone who is higher)

f) **jǎng** 'to go up and V'

*kah jǎng pyen*  
 I go-up speak  
 I go upwards and speak

*im kkhaan-a ah jǎng poh*  
 house up-in he go-up does  
 he goes up into the house and does (it)

*ah ve náák-a jǎng hmu-hüt-a*  
 he stay place-at go-up look-IMP  
 go up to the place where he is and look for (it) back there

g) **na** 'to V in advance, ahead'

*nah na-poh am ve*  
 you ahead-work not is  
 you have not done it in advance

*kei noh kah na-ei ma kti*  
 I SUBJ I ahead-eat go-ahead PRES  
 I eat in advance (of everybody else)

*ah na-mtheh*  
 he ahead-tell  
 he tells it in advance

h) *ana* 'to go and V in advance, ahead'

*ana-ngshut ip kti-é*  
 go-ahead-start sleep PRES-PL  
 they go and fall asleep in advance

*ana-pyén hü kom kti*  
 go-ahead tell around of:course PRES  
 of course he has gone and told it around in advance

*ana-poh u bä*  
 go-ahead do PL all-right?  
 go and do it in advance, will you?

## 3. Postverbal semidirectional auxiliaries

The semidirectionals, the first seven auxiliaries after the verb, do not form a tight semantic set, but are a composite of direction, phase, and distributiveness. Most of them can also be used as a main verb.

*pha* to arrive at the state of Ving  
*lo* to come to the state of Ving  
*vaai* to go and V, to V frontward  
*seh* to V and bring along  
*hü* to V from place to place  
*táák* to V and leave behind  
*hüt* to V back there

Note that Table 2 shows *lo*, *vaai*, and *seh* as a mutually exclusive set, though their relationships with other auxiliaries are different.

<i>pha</i>	R	O	X	X	X	X
<i>lo</i>		O	O	X	R	X
		<i>vaai</i>	O	R	R	R
			<i>seh</i>	O	X	X
				<i>hü</i>	R	X
					<i>táák</i>	R
						<i>hüt</i>

X = fixed order

R = reversible order

O = mutually exclusive

Table 2: Postverbal semidirectionals: pairwise co-occurrence and order

### 3.1 Meaning and usage

a) *lo*. When used as a main verb it means 'come, bring along'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to come to the state of Ving, to V toward somebody or something'. The auxiliary *lo* can co-occur with all other directional postverbal auxiliaries except *vaai* and *seh*, since *lo* implies a movement toward and *vaai* and *seh* a movement away. *Lok* is an allomorph of *lo*, occurring before preglottalised consonants.

main verbs:

<i>kah lok kkhai</i>	I will come
<i>loua ksim ah lo</i>	he brings the knife to the field

auxiliary:

*jah hmu-lok kkhai ni*  
 them see-come will indeed  
 I will come to the state of seeing them

*thing-kdung ah kkoh lo*  
 firewood he carry come  
 he comes to the state of carrying the firewood

*ip lok kti*  
 sleep come PRES  
 he falls asleep

*kah sá, nah dām lo hnüh kti ni*  
 my son you big come finally PRES indeed  
 my son, you have become big finally

*ah bóóí lo-pyéí mjoh*  
 he rich come-much told  
 he became very rich, it is told

*sa kah yuk lo*  
 letter I write come  
 I write a letter (to you)

b) *pha*. When used as a main verb it means 'arrive'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to arrive at the state of Ving'. The occurrence of *pha* as an auxiliary verb is rather restricted. It has been found so far only occurring after the main verbs *lo* 'come' and *mán* 'catch'. But it can co-occur with all the other directional postverbal auxiliaries except *vaai*.

main verb:

*íma pha-lobe kti*  
 he arrives coming back home

auxiliary verb:

*ah mán pha hnüh*  
 he catch arrive finally  
 he finally arrives at the state of catching (him)

*ah lo pha am kah hmuh ni*  
 he come arrive not I see indeed  
 I did not see him coming

c) *vaai*. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V forward, to go and V'. *Vaai* cannot co-occur with *lo*, *pha*, *seh*, but it does co-occur with *hü*, *táák* and *hüt* and is reversible with them.

*ah maláma su kshuuk-ku ah hmuh vaai*  
 his front-road on tortoise he see front  
 he sees the tortoise in front of him on the road

*sá-apyén vaai kom kti*  
 there-at speak go of course PRES  
 tell it over there of course

*lóu phyóu vaai-a*  
 field weed go-IMP  
 go and pull the weeds in the field

*mó-a ve hü vaai khüng vai*  
 jungle at stay around go probably will  
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

d) *seh*. When it is used as a main verb it means 'go, take along'. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means 'bringing along'. Its occurrence as an auxiliary verb is very restricted, occurring only with the main verb *lo*. It can co-occur with the auxiliaries *pha*, *táák*, *hüt*, but not with *lo*, *hü*, or *vaai*.

main verb:

*kah seh ta kah phak kkhai ni*  
 If I go then I will arrive indeed

*paai noh ksim ah seh*  
 father takes the knife along

auxiliary:

*thing lo seh tu bă*  
 wood come bring INTENS all-right  
 do bring the firewood along, will you?

*ah lo seh hlü-a ta lo seh kom*  
 he come bring want if come bring of course  
 if he wants to bring it along let him do so of course

e) *hü*. Does not occur as a main verb. When it is used as an auxiliary verb it means 'Ving from place to place, Ving around, Ving aimlessly'. It can co-occur with all other directional auxiliaries except with *seh*.

*asun kba su khü hü pah pah lü sit hü kti*  
 this like this call around go go and go around PRES  
 like this he calls around while going and goes from place to place

*mó kpyonga long kkóng-a khüüi hü kti*  
 jungle jungle-at stream land-at work around PRES  
 he works at different places, in the jungle, at the stream and on the land

*nah sit hü kti-o*  
 you go around PRES-doubtful  
 did you really go?

*nah seh lo hü kkhai ni*  
 you run come around will indeed  
 you will come to run around here and there (confused and aimless)

f) *táák*. When used as a main verb it means 'keep, put'. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V leaving (somebody) in place or behind, to V in advance of somebody'. (The one left behind may also be moving but more slowly.) *Táák* can co-occur with all the other directional auxiliaries and is reversible with all of them except with *seh* and *pha*.

main verb:

*pai noh she ah táák*  
 the father keeps (raises) cows

*íma ksim ah táák*  
 he puts the knife in the house

auxiliary:

*ah don táák*  
 he run leave-behind  
 he runs and leaves behind (somebody running slower)

*nah ve táák hüt ta i am do*  
 you live leave back if GEN not good  
 it is not good if you live (somewhere else) and leave (him) in place

*nih seh táák in vai u ni*  
 we go leave quickly will PL indeed  
 we will quickly go in advance (of someone coming later)

g) *hüt*. Does not occur as a main verb. When used as an auxiliary verb it means 'to V back there, to V at a different time or place, to V so that it stays back'. It co-occurs with all the other directional auxiliaries, and is reversible with *vaai* and *táák*.

*ah sá ve hüt kti*

his child stay back PRES

his child stays back (at a different place)

*ah sük hüt*

he order back-there

he ordered back there (afterwards he died or went away)

*ah poh hüt am ve tí*

he do back not is any more

nothing remains from what he did

*ah tú hmu-hüt lü thik kti*

his grandchild see-there and die PRES

he saw his grandchild back there and died

*asun pyén hü hüt kom*

like:this talk around there of:course

talk around like this back there of course

### 3.2 Simple co-occurrence

The pairwise co-occurrence relations of these auxiliaries are shown in Table 2. Following are examples of each such pair.

*am man lo pha tí*

not catch come arrive any more

he cannot catch him any more

*ei o pha lo to kkhai ni*

eat drink arrive come proper will indeed

he will arrive in time to eat

*nah sén lo hü kkhai ni*

you run come around will indeed

you will run around confused

*nih ve lo táák u ni*

we live come leave PL indeed

we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind

*nih ve táák lo u ni*

we live leave come PL indeed

we come to live (somewhere else) and leave him behind



*kah nih бүк lo hüt kti-é ni*  
 I we see come back PRES-PL indeed  
 we will see him back there

*ning lo pha seh táák kkhai ni*  
 you come arrive take leave will indeed  
 they will arrive in advance to take (it) and leave you behind

*lo pha hū ma she*  
 come arrive around go:ahead let  
 let him arrive at these places

*ning lo pha táák kkhai-é ni*  
 you come arrive leave will-PL indeed  
 they will arrive in advance of you

*lo pha hüt ma kkhai shü*  
 come arrive here go-ahead will should  
 he should have come to arrive here

*ning lo seh táák kkhai ni*  
 you come bring leave will indeed  
 he will come and bring it in advance and leave you behind

*bebe ah lo seh hüt tata do kkhai shü*  
 brother he come bring here if good will should  
 if the elder brother would have brought it along it would have been good

*mó-a ve hū vaai khüng vai*  
 jungle-in stay around go probably will  
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

*mó-a ve vaai hū khüng vai*  
 jungle-in stay go around probably will  
 he will probably go and stay around in the jungle

*kah ei hū táák phi am kshing*  
 I eat around leave also not know  
 he does not know that I have eaten in advance (without him)

*nah ve táák hū ta i am do*  
 you stay leave around if GEN not good  
 it is not good that you stay around at other places and leave him behind

*asun pyén hū hüt kom kti*  
 like this talk around back of course PRES  
 like this he tells around of course

*püi ei vaai táák am do*  
 friend eat go leave not good  
 it is not good to go and eat and leave your friend behind

*püi ei táák vaai am do*  
 friend eat leave go not good  
 it is not good to go and eat and leave your friend behind

*pyén vaai hüt kom u*  
 talk go back course PL  
 go and tell it back there of course

*seh hüt vaii shü*  
 go back go should  
 he should have gone back there

*ve táák hüt ta mpyeen-seh-hlü-kba*  
 stay leave back if pitiful  
 if he is left behind he is to be pitied

*ve hüt táák ta mpyeen-seh-hlü-kba*  
 stay back leave if pitiful  
 if he is left behind he is to be pitied

### 3.3 Co-occurrence of more than two postverbal auxiliaries

No more than three postverbal directionals have been found together, though a maximum of five is logically possible according to Table 2.

*seh lo hü táák tü kkhai-é ni*  
 go come around leave again will-PL indeed  
 they will go again from place to place and leave him behind

*ning lo pha seh táák kkhai-é ni*  
 you come arrive take leave will-PL indeed  
 they will arrive to take it in advance and leave you behind

## 4. Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

Many of the preverbal and postverbal directionals can occur together, but there are some restrictions, as shown in Table 3. Note the complementary distribution of *vaai* and *seh*. And note the somewhat defective distribution of *ana*. This table also shows that the neat semantic matrix of the preverbals given in Table 1 does not fully correlate with the distributional realities; there are apparently other semantic factors that have not yet been fully taken into account.

	<i>lo</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>vaai</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>hü</i>	<i>taak</i>	<i>hüt</i>
<i>hei</i>	X	O	O	X	X	X	X
<i>va</i>	X	O	O	X	X	X	X
<i>juk</i>	X	O	O	X	O	X	X
<i>ju</i>	X	O	X	O	O	X	X
<i>jän</i>	X	O	O	X	O	X	X
<i>jǎng</i>	X	O	X	O	X	X	X
<i>na</i>	X	O	X	O	X	X	X
<i>ana</i>	O	O	X	O	X	X	O

X = occurring, O = non-occurring

Table 3: Co-occurrence of preverbal and postverbal directionals

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See also the introduction to Hartmann-So 1985.
- <sup>2</sup> The data for this paper were collected between 1975 and 1983. The basic analysis is based on about twenty different texts by several speakers from different villages in Kanpetlet township. For the composition of this paper my husband Chaing So and Mr Nääng Küüi from Nghmu Khim Mding village have been my main informants; I am grateful to them for their efforts and patience. I am also indebted to Paulette Hopple and David Thomas who gave advice and help in the analysis and writing of this paper.
- <sup>3</sup> Key to the orthography:

ph, th, kh, sh	represent	aspirates [p <sup>h</sup> , t <sup>h</sup> , k <sup>h</sup> , s <sup>h</sup> ]
syllable-final h	"	glottal stop [ʔ]
hm, hn, hng	"	voiceless nasals [M, N, ŋ]
hl	"	voiceless lateral [L]
x	"	voiceless velar fricative [χ]
v, j, y	"	semivowels [w, y, ɹ]
kC, k'C, k'V	"	preglottalised [ʔC], [ʔV]
mC, m'V, ngC, ng'V	"	prenasalised [mC, mV, ŋ C, ŋ V]
Cy	"	palatalised [C <sup>y</sup> ]
i, ü, u	"	high vowels [i, ɨ, u]
e, ä, o	"	mid vowels [ɛ, ə, ɔ]
a	"	low central vowel [a]
VV	"	long vowel
Vu, Vi	"	VC [V̥w, Vy]

Tone: there are two contrastive tones throughout the dialect area, a plain level tone and a tense high falling tone. But there is much variation between villages as to which words take which tone, so tone is not marked in practical orthography. The tones indicated in this paper represent the speech of Yang Msaai village.

- 4 The verbs *pyen* 'to speak' and *man* 'to catch' belong to a verb class which has both verb Stem A and Stem B. There exists a tone alternation between these two stems (Hartmann-So, 1985). Therefore in this paper they are sometimes marked with plain-level tone and sometimes with high-tense tone.
- 5 Suffix *-a* is a mild imperative, a gentle urging (combined with appropriate intonation). Suffix *-kti* is a common suffix whose meaning is not yet entirely clear. It has a component of present tense, in contrast with *-kkhai* 'future', and may also serve to mark the end of a verb phrase.

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# THE GRAMMAR OF SIMPLE CLAUSES IN MIZO

Lalnunthangi Chhangte

## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Mizo, formerly known as Lushai, is the language of the Indian State of Mizoram in North-East India. It is also spoken in adjacent states such as Manipur and Tripura, and by smaller numbers in Burma and Bangladesh. It is a Tibeto-Burman language, in the Central subgroup of the Kukish or Kuki-Chin branch.

While the phonology of Lushai has been extensively studied, the morphology and syntax are less well described. Studies by Henderson (1948), Burling (1957), Bright (1957), Weidert (1975) and Chhangte (1985, 1986) have dealt with some aspects of phonology, but more work, especially on the current sociolinguistic situation, remains to be done.

The transcription used here and the analysis that it is based on are described in detail in Chhangte (1986). Basically it follows the traditional Mizo orthography but adds final glottal stop and tones. There are four tones: mid/low (unmarked), high (1), rising (2) and falling (3). There are phonetic differences in the realisations of these tones depending on syllable type and vowel length.

The dialect described is my own, the standard Southern Duhlian dialect of the Lunglei area.

## 2. PHRASE STRUCTURE AND MORPHOLOGY

### 2.1 Introduction

Mizo grammar has received much less attention than phonology. For one, the area is basically inaccessible to foreigners so that fieldwork is virtually impossible. Also, very few, if any, Mizos are trained sufficiently in theoretical linguistics so that non-Mizos attempting to study the language

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David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11: *South-East Asian syntax*, 93-174. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989.

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have very scant resources. Moreover, since most of the literature about Mizos has been written by foreigners, the available information is not completely reliable either. I will comment on some of these errors and explain why they are unacceptable. I will also clarify some issues in instances where they have not been explained adequately.

In this grammar I will clarify some of the issues relating to Mizo syntax. I will spend a considerable amount of time explaining the mixed ergative system. Before I do that, however, I will briefly survey what has been written about Mizo syntax and comment on its relevance to this paper.

### 2.1.1 Overview of the literature

The work of the missionaries, Lorrain and Savidge (1898), provides the most thorough and accurate representation of Mizo grammar. All other attempts at describing the language have borrowed heavily from Lorrain and Savidge. The volume is fairly exhaustive and gives several useful examples. In spite of its scholastic excellence, the work suffers from a strong Indo-European bias and other technical shortcomings of that era. For instance, they list several examples of 'tense', even though the Mizo examples they give are identical! The other problems are absence of tone markings and inaccurate phonological data. The latter was corrected in a later revision of the dictionary by Lorrain (1940). However, in spite of such flaws, the work of Lorrain and Savidge is a masterpiece of linguistic fieldwork. The technical flaws reflect the shortcomings of the linguistics of that era and not of the linguists themselves.

In addition to Lorrain and Savidge, there were several word lists prepared by British officers such as Lewin (1874) and Shakespear (1921). Most of these are not very accurate as the writers had idiosyncratic ways of transcribing data.

A detailed and extensive volume was written by a Bengali surgeon, Brojo Nath Shaha (1884). This work is well-organised and adequately illustrated. Unfortunately, most of the examples are either grammatically unacceptable or their glosses are wrong and for that reason I do not recommend it as a data source. The writer either did not get native speakers as informants or his interpreter was linguistically incompetent. It is also likely that the writer was influenced by his own language as the examples he gives are what a Mizo would consider 'Vai Mizo', that is, a version of Mizo used by Bengalis or Assamese.

Grierson (1904) used most of the above sources in his survey. The section on Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages not only compares the related languages but also gives data. Many of the languages mentioned in the survey, such as Ralte, are now extinct. The texts, though inadequately glossed, were useful in comparing certain grammatical features. For instance, I was interested in the ergative marker and the oblique marker, both of which are present in Mizo. It turns out that the grammatical structure of Hmar is the most similar to that of Mizo, even though it is a more distant relative than some of the other languages. Perhaps this has to do with the close contact these two groups have had.

More recently, Lehman has written several articles on Mizo grammar, many of them in relation to Burmese or Haka (Laai) Chin. Most of my analysis is based on his articles and comments

through personal correspondence. Various articles in the *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* series dealing with morphologies of TB languages have also been extremely helpful.

Pedagogical grammars are not very helpful in terms of analysis. They are usually based on the grammar written by Lorrain and Savidge, which, as I have mentioned already, is based on Latin grammar. Nevertheless, they are useful as a source for data, and I have benefitted from the textbooks written by Khiangte (1964) and Remkung (1977).

### 2.1.2 Overview of purpose and methodology

The major aim of this paper is to describe the basic syntactic structure of modern Mizo using current linguistic theories. My approach will be typological and I will refer to linguistic universals and not restrict myself to the TB language group. My main aim is to describe the language as the Mizos themselves see it. Some of my assumptions are based on comments people made to me in Mizoram. Furthermore, this being a synchronic study, comparative discussions will be kept to a minimum. I will, however, refer occasionally to Thadou, a member of the northern branch of the Kuki-Chin languages, as I have a fairly good description of its syntax and phonology. Unfortunately, Krishan's (1980) grammar of Thadou, though published recently, was actually written in the early 1970s and does not refer to any current linguistic theory.

This description of Mizo grammar will be comprehensive and it will also try to relate some of the grammatical features to the phonological system. This will be mainly in the area of defining word boundaries. For the moment, I have decided to mark only two grammatical boundaries: morpheme boundaries are indicated by - and word boundaries are marked with a space. My decisions are based on the guidelines given by Hyman (1978) and Zwicky (1985). These boundaries correspond to phonological boundaries as follows: the phonological word corresponds to the grammatical phrase; internal word boundaries in phonology correspond to grammatical word boundaries; morpheme boundaries are the same, though they are much more significant in the grammar than in the phonology. I have not marked the grammatical phrase boundary as it is marked morphologically by the final case markers.

The following sections are an attempt to bring together the works mentioned above, using more recent linguistic tools. I have used terms, such as N', in the manner of Radford (1981) and the categorisations are based roughly on Givón's (1984) typological approach to syntax. Even though this paper will not get into the theoretical details, I will make theoretical assumptions based on current linguistic theories. In particular, the notion of ergativity will be a major consideration of the following sections. In this area I am indebted to Lehman's (1985) and DeLancey's (1981a) discussions of ergativity in TB languages.

## 2.2 Noun phrase structure

The noun phrase structure of Mizo is fairly complex. The most characteristic feature of the NPs is that they can be demarcated on the left by a *demonstrative pronoun* and on the right by a *case marker* (CM). The obligatory case markers for the NP are preceded by the determiner: plurality markers and locational markers are suffixed on the demonstrative pronoun.

Since every NP must possess a case marker (although the absolutive case is encoded with zero) it is thus not subcategorised for the N'. Moreover, since no constituent may follow the case marker, I assume that a node N'' separates the determiner noun from its case marker.

There are several reasons for this NP structure. First of all, there is no subcategorisation between the case marker and the rest of the NP. Furthermore, the case marker (CM) is obligatory and always comes last, even when there is a full determiner (with case markings). There is also evidence from relative clauses that demonstrates that the CM is on the rest of the NP. Take for instance:

- (1) *nu-laa1 thing2 phur3 in*  
 maiden wood carryII ERG  
 The wood that the maiden carried ...

In the above example, the CM is over the relativised construction, which is an incorporated object. The above example in its main clause form is:

- (2) *nu-laa1 in thing2 ø a phur1*  
 maiden ERG wood ABS 3NOM carry  
 The maiden carried firewood.

Evidence from phonology also favours the analysis that the CM is a separate word. Take for instance the GLIDE HARDENING RULE<sup>2</sup> which operates over phonological word boundaries only. The case marker is affected by this rule so that we get:

- (3) *//thou + in// → /thou vin/*  
 fly ERG

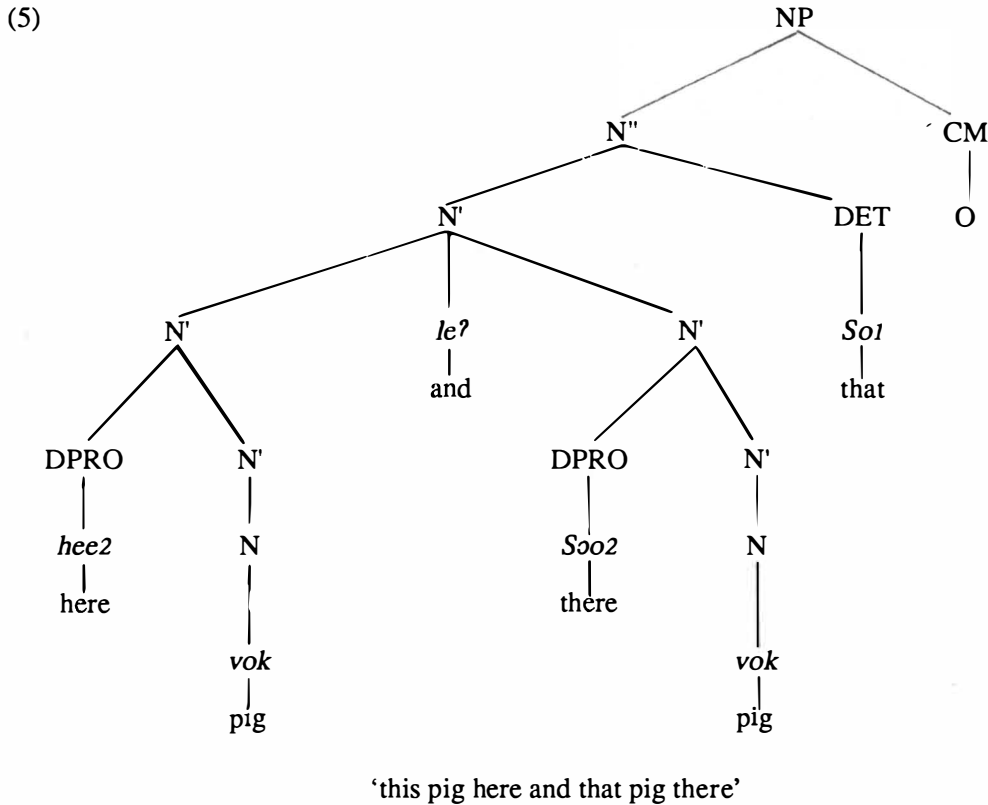
Thus, the basic unmodified NP would have a structure

- (4)
- 
- ```

graph TD
    NP --> N_double_prime[N'']
    NP --> CM
    N_double_prime --> N_prime[N']
    N_double_prime --> DET
    N_prime --> DPRO
    N_prime --> N_prime2[N']
    DPRO --> hee3-ng
    hee3-ng --> here-PL
    N_prime2 --> N
    N --> vok
    vok --> pig
    DET --> hi1
    hi1 --> this
    CM --> O
    
```
- ‘these pigs’



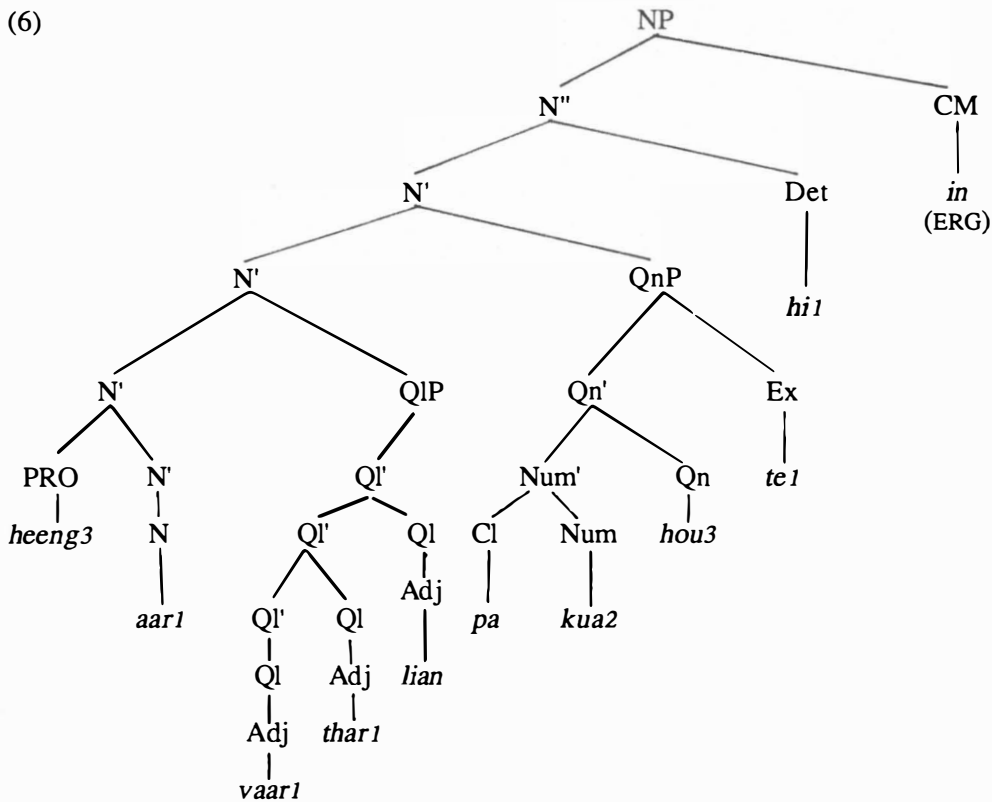
It is claimed that the demonstrative pronoun and the determiner demarcate the extremities of the NP because they occur before the first and after the last in compound NPs, i.e.



Structures such as (5) are further support for the analysis placing the demonstrative pronoun *hee2* and the determiner *sol* at different levels and not as constituents of the NP. The demonstrative pronouns *hee2* etc. are much more noun-like in that they are incompatible with proper names; sometimes they occur alone; other times they are replaced by possessive pronouns or wh-question words. Occasionally they will co-occur with a proper name, as in *hee Lal 1-i 1* meaning ‘this here Lali’, when the speaker wishes to emphasise that it is *this Lali* and not *any other Lali*. This type of usage is probably a form of reduplication since both proper name and demonstrative pronoun are not necessary and yet the presence of both gives an emphatic effect.

The basic structure of the NP can be elaborated by modifiers of quality and quantity. These occur in that order after the head noun and before the determiner. Though modifiers typically precede in SOV languages, as in Japanese, cf. Greenberg (1963), postpositional modifiers are not uncommon either, cf. Comrie (1981). Thus, the maximally modified NP would have a structure:

(6)



'this (group of) nine, new, big, white hens'

Some examples of NPs are:

(7) a. Both demonstrative pronoun and determiner

*hee3- ng aar1 vaar1 pa-lii1 hi1 (ka1 du?)*  
 DPRO-PL hen white unit-four DET (1NOM want)  
 (I want) these four white hens.

b. Possessed noun

*i aar1 vaar1 pa-lii1 hi1 (ka1 du?)*  
 2P hen white unit-four DET (1NOM want)  
 (I want) your four white hens over here.

c. Full pronoun

*nang-ma-a1 aar1 vaar1 pa-lii1 (ka1 du?)*  
 2PRO-EMP-REL hen white unit-four (1NOM want)  
 (I want) your (not X's) four white hens.

## d. No demonstrative pronoun or determiner

*aar1 vaar1 pa-lii1 (ka1 du?)*  
 hen white unit-four (1NOM want)  
 (I want) four white hens.

## e. No head noun

*hei3 hi1 (ka1 du?)*  
 DPRO DET (1NOM want)  
 (I want) this one.

All of these will be explained in subsequent sections.

## 2.3 Noun phrase constituents

The major constituents can be further subdivided as follows:

### 2.3.1 Demonstrative pronoun and determiner

The demonstrative pronoun and the determiner usually agree for the deictic degree, e.g. proximal demonstrative goes with the proximal determiner, etc. There are six pronoun-determiner pairs that occur, cf. 136. The plural suffix *-ng* and the locative marker *a(?)* follow the demonstrative pronoun and case markers *-an* and *-an1* follow the determiner. In the surface structure, number, location and case markers all suffix to the elements on their immediate left and thereby lose their ability to stand alone as syntactic units.

There are also certain phonological changes which are peculiar to demonstrative pronouns and determiners. Of the two, the demonstrative pronoun undergoes tone changes depending on its syntactic environment.

In addition to the tone changes, the demonstrative pronoun *hei3* undergoes segmental changes. If it is followed by a full noun it becomes *hee* which is shortened to *he* if followed by a locative marker. With regard to the tone changes, the demonstrative pronoun acquires a falling tone if it is followed by the determiner only.

#### (8) Singular, normal form

*hei3 hi1*  
 DPRO DET  
 this one here

But if the following word is a noun the demonstrative pronoun changes to a rising tone.

#### (9) a. Singular form followed by noun with low tone

*hee2 vok hi1*  
 DPRO pig DET  
 this pig here

- b. Singular form followed by noun with rising tone

*hee2 ui2-tee hi1*  
 DPRO dog-small DET  
 this puppy here

Furthermore, because of the LONG CONTOUR TONE SANDHI RULE,<sup>3</sup> the demonstrative pronoun becomes a low tone if the following word is either high tone or falling tone.

- (10) a. Singular form followed by noun with high tone

*hee aar1 hi1*  
 DPRO hen DET  
 this hen here

- b. Singular form followed by noun with falling tone

*hee boong3 hi1*  
 DPRO cow DET  
 this cow here

Finally, if it is followed by a locative marker, it becomes a high tone.

- (11) Singular form followed by locative marker

*he1 ta1 vok hi1*  
 DPRO LOC pig DET  
 this pig here

Thus, the demonstrative pronoun can have any of the four Mizo tones depending on its environment. (This environment is not phonologically conditioned.) The plural form does not undergo any tone change but retains a falling tone.

- (12) Plural form

*hee3-ng vok (te1) hi1*  
 DPRO-PL pig (EX) DET  
 these pigs here (and such)

In all of these instances, the syllable shape of the following word does not affect the tone changes.

The determiners do not display such a wide variety of segmental or tone changes. The only segmental change involves *so1* which, when followed by the ergative (or oblique) marker becomes *soon3* instead of *soan3*. The reason for this change may be that because Mizo does not allow the vowel sequence //oa//, it changes it to /oo/.

### 2.3.1.1 Plural marker

The demonstrative pronoun carries the suffix *-ng* for the plural and  $\emptyset$  for the singular.

- (13) *hee3-ng aar1 hi1*  
 DPRO-PL hen DET  
 these hens here

### 2.3.1.2 Location markers

The demonstrative pronoun can also take a suffix for location. See also section 2.6.2.4 for other locative forms.

- (14) *he1 ta1 aar1 hi1*  
 DPRO LOC-REL hen DET  
 this hen here

### 2.3.1.3 Case markers

The ergative suffix *-an* or the oblique suffix *-an1* are suffixed to the determiner.

- (15) a. *hee aar1 hi-an3 mi1 cuk*  
 DPRO hen DET-ERG 1ABS peck  
 This hen here pecked me.  
 b. *hee aar1 hi-an1 ka1 tlheng3*  
 this hen DET-OBLQ 1NOM exchange  
 I exchanged it with this hen.

Determiners such as *hi1*, if it belongs to an NP that is the subject of the clause that contains it, requires the ergative suffix *-an*. This ergative suffix is often obscured by the ergative case marker *in* because in non-emphatic contexts the two collapse and undergo predictable tone sandhi, for example:

- (16) *//hi1 + an# in// → /hian3/*

In emphatic contexts, however, this rule may be inhibited leaving both ergative suffix and ergative case marker intact, as in:

- (17) *//hi1 + an# in// → /hian3 in/*

The same is true for the oblique marker *in1*.

Plurals, location markers, gender suffixes and nominalisers are separated from noun stems by formative boundaries whereas case markers are separated by internal word boundaries.

### 2.3.2 Nouns

Nouns occur in all syllable types and in all four tones. Generally, they have only one basic form unlike verb-stems which show two suppletive manifestations depending on their syntactic environment. They undergo changes of tone because of their internal structure; some have affixes, some are compounds.

The sub-classes of nouns include:

#### 2.3.2.1 Non-derived nouns

There are very few non-derived, morphologically simple nouns. Common everyday objects and domestic animals tend to fall into this category, as in:

- |         |                |          |
|---------|----------------|----------|
| (18) a. | <i>vok</i>     | pig      |
| b.      | <i>ruul1</i>   | snake    |
| c.      | <i>thing2</i>  | tree     |
| d.      | <i>tlaang1</i> | mountain |
| e.      | <i>cem1</i>    | knife    |
| f.      | <i>ip</i>      | bag      |
| g.      | <i>sam2</i>    | hair     |
| h.      | <i>mit</i>     | eye      |

#### 2.3.2.2 Derived nouns

Derived, polysyllabic, morphologically complex nouns are the most common type of nouns. They form one phonological word where the second morpheme is some sort of modifier of the first morpheme. In a few cases, the meaning of the individual morphemes is opaque. The following words illustrate a number of these combinations:

- |         |             |   |               |   |                    |
|---------|-------------|---|---------------|---|--------------------|
| (19) a. | <i>saa3</i> | + | <i>mak</i>    | = | <i>sa-mak</i>      |
|         | animal      |   | strange       |   | rhinoceros         |
| b.      | <i>faa3</i> | + | <i>paa</i>    | = | <i>fa-paa</i>      |
|         | offspring   |   | male          | = | son                |
| c.      | <i>mii3</i> | + | <i>paa</i>    | = | <i>mi-paa</i>      |
|         | person      |   | male          | = | man/boy            |
| d.      | <i>seer</i> | + | <i>thuur2</i> | = | <i>seer-thuur2</i> |
|         | citrus      |   | sour          |   | lemon              |
| e.      | <i>bee3</i> | + | <i>tee2</i>   | = | <i>be-tœ2</i>      |
|         | beans       |   | small         |   | type of bean       |

Names of birds and animals are usually prefixed by *vaa3* 'bird' and *saa3* 'animal' respectively. However, in most cases the second morpheme is not a free form. For instance:

- (20) a. *saa3* + *vom1* = *sa-vom1* bear  
 b. *vaa3* + *rak* = *va-rak* duck

Thus, the word is 'non-Fregean', that is, it cannot be divided into meaningful parts.

- (21) a. *cing1-nhia2* wolf  
 b. *cai-ciim1* mouse  
 c. *fang3-mhiir* ant  
 d. *be-raam* sheep

### 2.3.2.3 Nominalised nouns

Abstract nouns are derived by nominalising adjectives or verbs (see also section 2.6.1.5). For example:

- (22) a. *mooi* + *na1* = *moi-na1*  
 beautiful II beauty  
 b. *rhia3* + *na1* = *rhia3-na1*  
 to hear II knowledge

### 2.3.2.4 Proper nouns

Given names usually contain two to four syllables. The full form is rarely used, as nicknames or diminutive forms of the given name are preferred. It is also not uncommon for terms of endearment to be affixed to names.

Proper names of people are not taken from any specific lexical domain. For example, the names of women and men may be identical except for the gender suffix. The male gender suffix is *-a1* and the female gender suffix is *-i1*. Both gender suffixes have high tone except in citation form where the male gender suffix takes low tone. See also section 2.6.1.1.

- (23) a. Full name

*Lal1-rin3-om3-a*  
 -MSUF

Variants

*Rin3-a*, *Rin3-tee3-a*, *Maa1-rin3-a*  
 -MSUF -sm-MSUF EMT- -MSUF

- b. Full name

*Zou1-than-paar1-i1*  
 -FSUF

## Variants

*Zou1-i1,*      *Than-i1,*      *Paar1-i1,*  
                  -FSUF                      -FSUF                      -FSUF

*Zou1-te1-i1,*      *Paar1-te1-i1,*  
                  -sm-FSUF                      -sm-FSUF

*Than-pui1-i1,*      *Zoul-than-i1*  
                  -big-FSUF                      -FSUF

*Aa1-than-i1*

EMT- -FSUF

Titles and kinship terms precede the name:

- (24) a. *Pu1 Rem-a*                      Mr Rema  
       b. *Pi1 Kuung3-i1*                      Ms Kungi  
       c. *ka uu1*                      my elder (sibling/cousin)  
       d. *pa tee3-a*                      youngest paternal uncle

Adults who are on more intimate terms generally use teknonyms, as in:

- (25) a. *Vaal1-a1 paa3*                      father of Vala  
       b. *Vaal1-a1 nuu3*                      mother of Vala

where Vala is the firstborn. Parents also address each other this way.

Mythological characters sometimes have different names. Female characters take the suffix *nuu3* probably to indicate that they are full grown females, as in:

- (26) a. *cing1-pir1-i1-nuu3*                      Chingpirinu  
       b. *mhui-cuk-cu-ru-duun3-i1-nuu3*      hmuichukchuruduninu  
       c. *phuung3-pui-nuu3*                      Phungpuinu<sup>4</sup>

Male characters are suffixed either by *paa3* or *puu1*, as in:

- (27) a. *baak-vom1-tel1-puu1*                      Bakvawmtepu  
       b. *sa-zal-te1-paa3*                      Sazaltepa

Names of places generally describe the terrain or some event associated with the place. Here are some examples:

- (28) a. *Ai1-zool1*                      Aizawl  
       b. *Lung2-lei*                      Lunglei  
       c. *Hna?-thial*                      Hnahthial  
       d. *Lung-raang1*                      Lungrang  
       e. *Thil1-tlaang1*                      Thiltlang  
       f. *Seer-chiip3*                      Serchhip

In the past, most places, except for Aizawl and Lunglei, were small villages. In recent years, some of these villages have become towns. Places with a sizeable population often subdivide into smaller sections called *veeng1*.



## 2.3.2.5 Pronouns

Pronouns come in two forms: free forms and clitic forms. The free forms are found only in the noun phrase, whereas the clitic forms can be found in both noun phrase and verb phrase. The free forms are optional in sentences whereas the clitic forms are obligatory, cf. section 2.6.2.1 for a further discussion of pronoun clitics in the VP.

(29) a. Free forms:

| Person | Singular       | Plural           |
|--------|----------------|------------------|
| 1      | <i>kei3</i>    | <i>kei-nii3</i>  |
| 2      | <i>nang2</i>   | <i>nang-nii3</i> |
| 3      | <i>a1 nii3</i> | <i>an-nii3</i>   |

b. Clitic forms:

| Person | Singular      | Plural       |
|--------|---------------|--------------|
| 1      | <i>ka1/ka</i> | <i>ka2-n</i> |
| 2      | <i>i1/i</i>   | <i>i2-n</i>  |
| 3      | <i>a1/a</i>   | <i>a2-n</i>  |

The free forms are used mainly for emphasis. Thus we have:

(30) a. *kei2 ka kal1 ang2*

1PRO 1NOM go MOD

I will go (whether or not others go).

b. *kei-nii3 pa-lii1 ka-n kal1 ang2*

1PRO-PL unit-four 1NOM-PL go MOD

We four (not anyone else) will go.

c. *an-nii3 le? nang-nii3 i-n kal1 ang2*

3PRO-PL and 2PRO-PL 2NOM-PL go MOD

You and they (not anyone else) will go.

The clitic forms are used in the NP to denote possession, as in:

(31) a. *ka aar1 a1 nii*

1P hen 3NOM is

It is my hen.

b. *i aar1 a1 nii*

2P hen 3NOM is

It is your hen.

The pronoun clitics can also precede comparatives and quantifiers:

(32) a. *a1-trhaa ber1 ks1 du?*

it-good most 1NOM want

I want the best one.

- b. *a-vaai2 in1 ka eil*  
 it-all OBLQ 1NOM ate  
 I ate all of it

In the above examples, the third person nominative marker is used to indicate part of a greater whole, cf. 118.

### 2.3.3 Possession

Possession is indicated by word order: the possessor precedes the possessed item. It also appears that genitival- of constructions in Mizo are marked with what I call the relativiser, *-a1*. In most instances it coalesces with the preceding segment so that only the high tone remains. This same relativiser shows up in relative clause constructions.

- (33) a. *Thang1-kuur1-a1 ui2*  
           -MSUF-REL dog  
           Thangkura's dog
- b. *ka ui2*  
    1P dog  
    my dog
- c. *Thang1-kuur1-a1 puu1*  
           -MSUF-REL master  
           Thangkura's master
- d. *Thang1-kuur1-a1 puu1 ui2*  
           -MSUF-REL master dog  
           Thangkura's master's dog

If the possessed item is not specified, the word *taa3*, meaning 'owned; possessed' is used in place of the noun.

- (34) a. *Thang1-kuur1-a1 taa3*  
           -MSUF-REL own  
           Thangkura's own
- b. *ka taa3*  
    1P own  
    my own

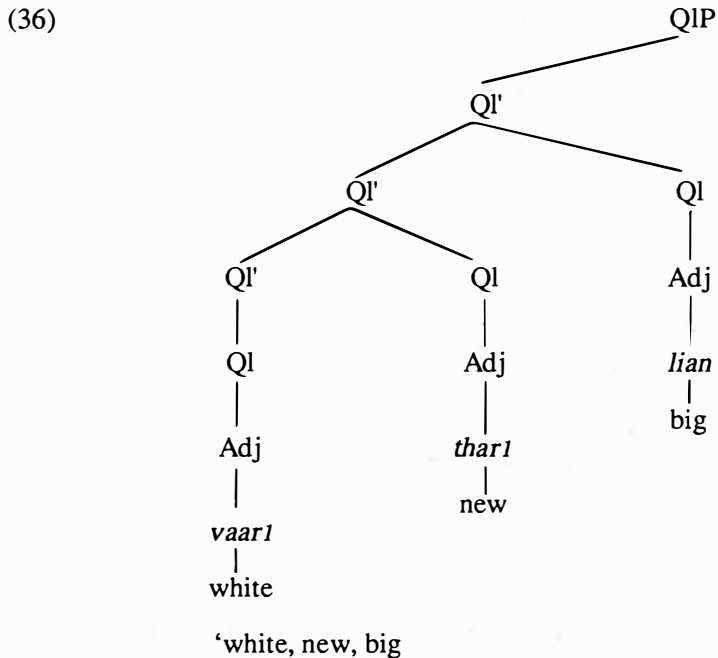
The word *taa3* has often been mistaken for the possessor word. However, it is not a modifier and should not be treated as such; *taa3* is simply a word meaning something like 'I own this' and the relationship is indicated by word order, cf. above.

### 2.3.4 Qualification

Adjectives in Mizo are syntactically verbs. They are usually preceded by the subject pronoun clitics, as in:

- (35)     *a1*     *trhaa*  
           3NOM   good  
           It is good.

In the NP, however, they follow the noun they qualify. The qualifiers are adjectives of colour, quality and size. These three can come in any order though the order just mentioned is the preferred one. The adjective-type words have this construction:



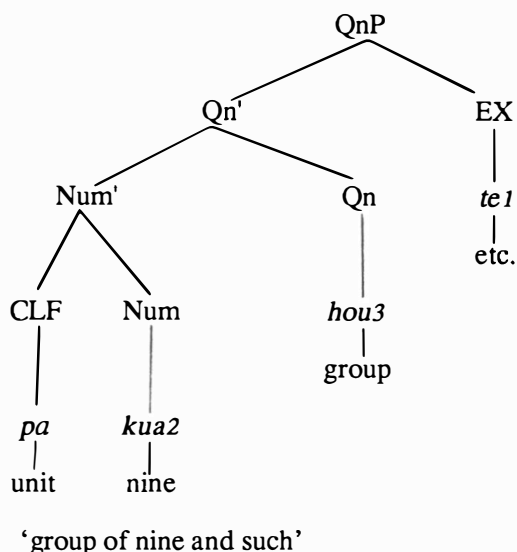
Because the qualifiers can occur in various orders I assume that QI' are recursively embedded. The following illustrate the possible combinations:

- 37) a. Colour, quality:  
       *puan-sen1-baal*  
       cloth-red-dirty  
       dirty red cloth
- b. Colour, size:  
       *in -sen1-lian*  
       house-red-big  
       big red house
- c. Quality, size:  
       *in -lhui1-lian*  
       house-old-big  
       big old house
- d. colour, quality, size:  
       *aar1-vaar1-thar1-lian*  
       hen-white-new-big  
       big new white hen

### 2.3.5 Quantification

Quantification is perhaps the least important constituent of the NP since plurality can be indicated elsewhere. When it does occur, quantification is preceded by all the other constituents within the NP, except for the determiner and the case marker. Unlike qualifiers, quantifiers show a much more rigid word order:

(38)



The quantifiers in the NP agree in number with the subject pronoun clitics in the VP. The logic of quantification in Mizo is more involved and it will be discussed separately in section 3.1.2. See also Lehman (1979b).

#### 2.3.5.1 Numeral quantifiers

Unlike most other south-east Asian languages, Mizo does not have a semantically based system of noun classifiers, cf. Lehman (1979a). The numbering system, however, does display a system of classifiers where the unit classifier is *pa-*, (as suggested by Lehman in personal communications). The classifiers for tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. are *soom*, *zaa*, *saang2*, respectively. The numbering system is decimal, as shown below:

- |         |                 |       |    |                  |       |
|---------|-----------------|-------|----|------------------|-------|
| (39) a. | <i>pa-khat</i>  | one   | f. | <i>pa-ruk</i>    | six   |
| b.      | <i>pa-nhi?</i>  | two   | g. | <i>pa-sa-ri?</i> | seven |
| c.      | <i>pa-thum1</i> | three | h. | <i>pa-riat3</i>  | eight |
| d.      | <i>pa-lii1</i>  | four  | i. | <i>pa-kua2</i>   | nine  |
| e.      | <i>pa-ngaa1</i> | five  | j. | <i>soom</i>      | ten   |

|    |                             |                                         |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| k. | <i>zaa</i>                  | one hundred                             |
| l. | <i>saang2</i>               | one thousand                            |
| m. | <i>siing2</i>               | ten thousand                            |
| n. | <i>nuai3</i>                | one hundred thousand                    |
| o. | <i>mak-ta-duai3</i>         | one million                             |
| p. | <i>vai1-beel1-chia3</i>     | ten million (lit. broken tobacco pipes) |
| q. | <i>vai1-beel1-che-tak</i>   | one hundred million                     |
| r. | <i>thuuk3 le? din3 oon2</i> | one trillion                            |

The following examples illustrate the numbering system. Multipliers follow the multiplicand:

- (40) a. *som-nhi?*  
 ten-two  
 twenty
- b. *za-nhi?*  
 HRD-two  
 two hundred
- c. *siing2-nhi?*  
 ten TH-two  
 twenty thousand

Lower numbers follow higher numbers, as in:

- (41) a. *soom (le?) pa-nhi?*  
 ten (and) unit-two  
 twelve
- b. *za-nhi? som-nhi?*  
 HRD-two ten-two  
 two hundred and twenty
- c. *za-nhi? som-nhi? le? pa-nhi?*  
 HRD-two ten-two and unit-two  
 two hundred and twenty two

Combination of numerals with nouns: non-animates generally do not take classifiers, that is, they become the classifiers themselves.

- (42) a. *nu pa-khat*            one woman  
 b. *boong3 pa-sa-ri?*        seven cows  
 c. *ni1-thum1*                three days  
 d. *in-thum1*                 three houses

If the value of the noun (its weight, volume or price) is measured, then the noun becomes the classifier, as in:

- (43) *thing2-pui-nou1-khat*  
 tea -cup -one  
 one cup of tea

Compare this with:

- (44) *nou1 pa-khat*  
 one cup

Ordinal numbers: These are formed by suffixing *-na1* to the cardinal number. Furthermore, numerals with high tone or rising tone become low tone. Since there is no obvious phonetic motivation for this change in tone, I assume the numerals have a Stem II form<sup>5</sup> which surfaces only in this particular construction. This explains why the low tone and the rising tone, the only possible tones for Stem II forms, do not change. Moreover, the suffix *-na1* always affixes to Stem II forms. Some examples of cardinal and ordinal numbers in NPs are:

- (45) a. *aar1 pa-lii1 ka1 du?*  
 hen four INOM want  
 I want four hens.
- b. *aar1 pa-lii-na1 ka1 du?*  
 hen unit-four-NLZ inom want  
 I want the fourth hen.
- c. *aar1 pa-kua2 ka1 du?*  
 hen unit-nine INOM want  
 I want nine hens.
- d. *aar1 pa-kua-na1 ka1 du?*  
 hen unit-nine-NLZ INOM want  
 I want the ninth hen.
- e. *aar1 pa-riat3 ka1 du?*  
 hen unit-eight INOM want  
 I want eight hens.
- f. *aar1 pa-riat3-na1 ka1 du?*  
 hen unit-eight-NLZ INOM want  
 I want the eighth hen.

Alternate numbers are indicated by the word *dan* meaning 'every other', followed by the locative marker *a?*. There is no tone change in this case.

- (46) *ni1-thum1 dan a? kal1 io?*  
 day-three every LOC go IMP  
 Go every three days.

### 2.3.5.2 General quantifiers

General quantifiers are either particles or clitics and can occur both in the NP and VP. The more common NP quantifiers are: *zong zong3* 'each and every', *trhen1 khat* 'some (of the whole)', *vaai2* 'all/everything', *zaa* 'all/every', *tam2 tak* 'several, many', *tleem2 tee2* 'very few' and *tin3* 'each' (refer to section 2.6.3.3 for VP quantifiers). See also section 2.6.1.2 for plural markers.

These are examples of NP quantifiers:

- (47) a. *aar1 zong zong3*  
           hen all  
           all the hens
- b. *aar1 tam2 tak*  
       hen many INT  
       many hens
- c. *aar1 tleem1 te2*  
       hen few little  
       few hens
- d. *aar1 hou3*  
       hen group  
       group of hens
- e. *a2-n vaai2 in1 a-n kal1*  
    3P-PL all OBLQ 3NOM-PL went  
    they all went
- f. *mii3 zong zong3 a-n kal1*  
    people all 3NOM-PL went  
    all the people went
- g. *mi tin3 a-n kal1*  
    person each 3NOM-PL go  
    each person went
- h. *an-nii3 hou3 a-n kal1*  
    3PRO-PL group 3NOM-PL go  
    they went (together)
- i. *an hou3 te1 a-n kal1*  
    3P PL group EX 3NOM-PL go  
    their party went

### 2.3.5.3 Plurality

Number is indicated either by morphology or by cardinal numbers. There is another optional plural particle, *te1*. When it occurs without the other number markers, *te1* has a slightly different meaning. In this instance, *te1* does not signify 'several of the specified item' but rather, 'the specified item plus others associated with it'. Compare the following examples:

- (48) a. *ka1 nuu3 te1 ka1 paa3 te1*  
 1P mother EX 1P father EX  
 my mother, father, etc.
- b. *ka luu1 te1 ka1 cal te1*  
 1P head EX 1P forehead EX  
 my head, forehead, etc.

The above examples clearly show that the particle *te1* does not indicate plurality even though it indicates a collection of subjects. Its true contribution, however, more resembles English etc. which indicates that the overt forms are merely examples of a longer list. Therefore, it is understandable that *te1* occurs in plural NPs, as the listed forms may only be indicative of a larger set, e.g.

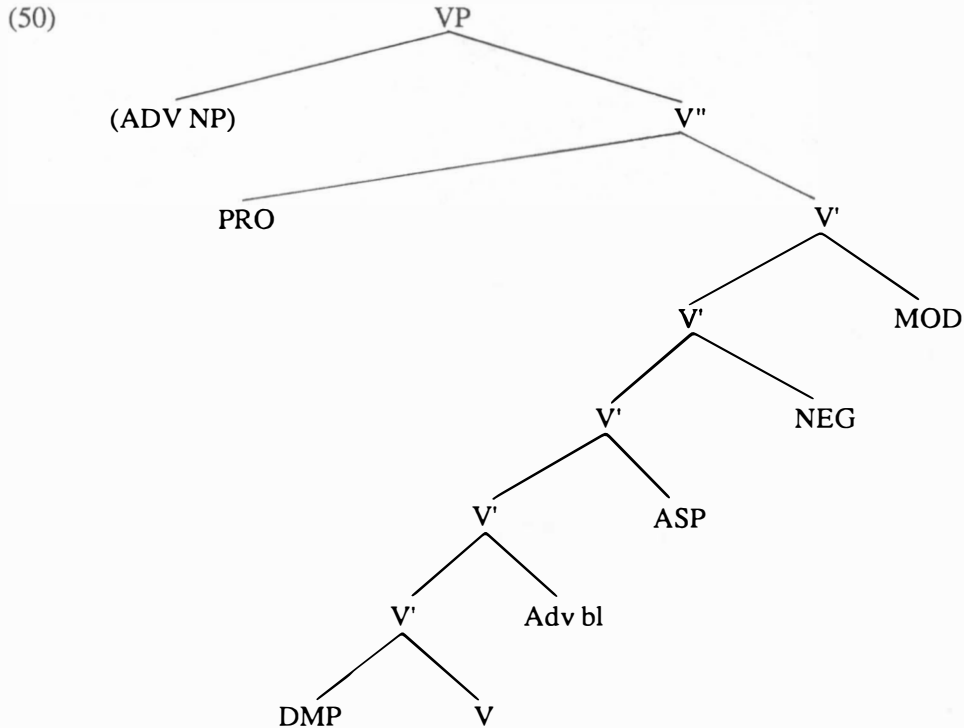
- (49) *hee3-ng te1 hi1*  
 DPRO-PL EX DET  
 these (and such)

## 2.4 Verb phrase structure

The verb phrase structure is the most complex part of Mizo grammar. Part of the complexity comes from the numerous particles that accompany the main verb. In many instances, it is very difficult to decide if the particle is an innovation in the language or if it is derived from some other source. Take for example the subject pronoun clitic. It appears in many of the related languages (such as Laai Chin, Hmar, Thadou) but its phonological form and usage varies widely from language to language. Even in languages that are more distant relatives of Mizo, verb morphology continues to be a rather complex and controversial issue. Furthermore, it is difficult to find sufficient data for comparison as one has to rely mostly on isolated examples cited in the literature. It would be much easier to analyse and compare the syntactic structure of related languages if one had access to a standard text in the various languages. Grierson's survey is helpful in this area as he uses the same text throughout, even when the data is not sufficiently marked for tone. Thus, it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the verb morphology in exhaustive detail.



The constituents to be discussed in this section are displayed in the chart below:

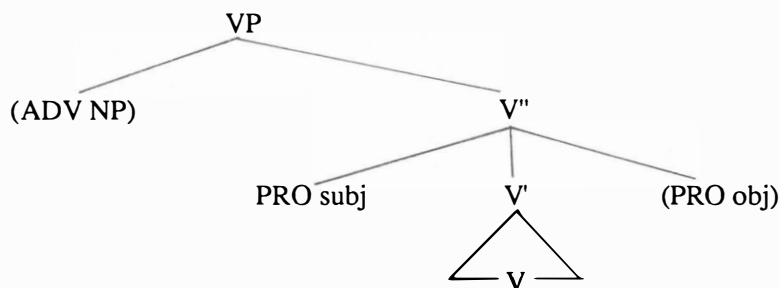


First of all, this analysis is supported by the sub-categorisation restrictions on Mizo. Adverbs and direct object NPs are optional constituents of the VP just as in many other languages. The clitic pronoun, however, is required in every sentence (except for relative clauses, imperatives and subjectless *wh*-questions, cf. 3.4.1). Therefore, I assign it to a special level of the VP called *V''*. The remaining particles for mode, negation, aspect, etc. are optional again. So these can be dominated by a recursive *V'* constituent. A second and very persuasive argument that the pronoun clitics require their own *V*-bar constituent (here *V''*) is seen in the behaviour of the second person accusative pronoun clitic *ce1* 'you', *ce1 ul* 'you (p1)', cf. example 51 below.

- (51) a. *mi-sual2 in a man1 ce1*  
           man-evil ERG 3NOM catch 2ACC  
           A criminal has caught you.
- b. *mi-sual2 in a man1 doon1 ce1*  
           man-evil ERG 3NOM catch ASP 2ACC  
           A criminal is going to catch you.

At present I know of no tests to decide which of the two clitics is higher in the structure. Therefore, I assume for this preliminary account of Mizo a structure:

(52)



## 2.5 Verb phrase constituents

The following are the major constituents of the verb phrase. Morphology will be dealt with in greater detail in section 2.6.

### 2.5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs generally precede the main verb. Manner adverbs can follow the main verb under certain circumstances. The adverbs are manner adverbs, adverbs of time and adverbs of place. The last two adverbs are very similar. Adverbs that precede the verb require some sort of modifier, such as the oblique marker or the locative marker. There is no such restriction on post-verbal adverbs.

#### 2.5.1.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs can either precede or follow the verb, depending on the relationship between the verb and the adverb. Manner adverbs of speed can come before or after the verb, as in:

- (53) a. *rang2 tak in1 a thou2*  
           fast    very OBLQ 3NOM arise  
           (S)he got up very quickly.
- b. *a thou2 rang2*  
           3NOM arise fast  
           (S)he gets up quickly.

Unexpected events also fall into the above category:

- (54) a. *a1-tlhoon in1 a kal1*  
           it-in vain OBLQ 3NOM go  
           (S)he went in vain.
- b. *a kal1 tlhoon*  
           3NOM go in vain  
           (S)he went in vain.

If the manner adverb is not directly related to the verb, it precedes the verb. These adverbs that precede verbs are really cognitive adjectives that must be turned into adverbs with modifier particles and oblique marker, such as: *tak in1* 'very', *deu?3 in1* 'somewhat', *em3 em3 in1* 'very much' and *lu1-tuk in1* 'excessively'.

- (55) a. *lhim1 tak in1 a2-n om2*  
happy very OBLQ 3NOM-PL exist  
They lived happily.
- b. *thin-rim3 deu?1 in1 a1 chuak3*  
angry very OBLQ 3NOM exit  
(S)he went out angrily.
- c. *mhan3-mho? em3 em3 in1 a1 chuak3*  
hurry very much OBLQ 3NOM left  
(S)he left in a great hurry.
- d. *lhau2 lu1-tuk in1 a2-n om2*  
fear excessive OBLQ 3NOM-PL exist  
They lived in great fear.

From the above examples we can see that verbs of action are related to speed and to probability. On the other hand, attitudes and feelings of the subject have less in common with the verb and are, consequently, restricted in their usage.

### 2.5.1.2 Time adverbs

Locative markers follow time adverbs, as in:

- (56) a. *ni-min1 a? a thii1*  
yesterday LOC 3NOM die  
(S)he died yesterday.
- b. *tuuk3-in1 a? a1 chuak3*  
morning LOC 3NOM leave  
(s)he left this morning.
- c. *ni1-kum a? a thii1*  
last year LOC 3NOM die  
(S)he died last year.

### 2.5.1.3 Place adverbs

Place adverbs also take the locative marker, as in:

- (57) a. *kho1-pui1 a? a peem1*  
town-big LOC 3NOM move to  
(S)he moved to the city.

- b. *Ail-zool1 a? zuu1 a zuar1*  
 Aizawl LOC beer 3NOM sell  
 (S)he sells beer in Aizawl.

#### 2.5.1.4 Adverbial particles

Adverbial particles have often been called ‘double adverbs’, for various reasons. First of all, they function as adverbs in that they modify the verb. Secondly, they are usually reduplicated.

However, there are phonological and grammatical reasons to distinguish these from the true adverbs mentioned above. Unlike the true adverbs, adverbial particles are iconic and convey a significant amount of information. Some of these include: speaker attitude, size and shape of subject/object, speed of action and aspect. For this reason, they are indispensable in narrative discourse where they are often used to dramatise and highlight significant events. Yet, in spite of their versatility, they do not have lexical meaning in and of themselves. For this reason it is better to consider them as particles rather than independent words.

The vowels in adverbial particles are iconic. Front vowels are used for smaller sizes (children, women, small animals, etc.). A back vowel is used to represent larger sizes (men, large animals, etc.). It is also used for insults or for comic effect. The low vowel *a* is used for in between sizes (older children, small adults, etc.). This phenomenon is also found in other south-east Asian languages, cf. Gregerson (1984).

Most adverbial particles are reduplicated (hence the term ‘double adverbs’). In instances where the two forms are not the same, the first will have a front vowel and the second will have a back vowel, cf. 60a, b. These adverbs can modify active verbs, as in:

- (58) a. *a tlaan2 per per3*  
 3NOM ran small, fast  
 (S)he (small) ran smoothly and rapidly.
- b. *a tlaan2 par par3*  
 3NOM ran med, fast  
 (S)he (med) ran smoothly and rapidly.
- c. *a tlaan2 pur pur3*  
 3NOM ran big, fast  
 (S)he (big) ran smoothly and rapidly.

They can also modify non-active verb, as in:

- (59) a. *a nui1 sen sen3*  
 3NOM smile small, pleasant  
 (S)he (small) smiled pleasantly.
- b. *a nui1 san san3*  
 3NOM smile med, pleasant  
 (S)he (med) smiled pleasantly.

- c. a     *nui1 sun sun3*  
 3NOM smile big, pleasant  
 (S)he (big) smiled pleasantly.
- d. a     *nui1 trhuu1*  
 3NOM smile big, teeth showing  
 (S)he (big) smiled broadly (with teeth showing).
- e. a     *nui1 ker2 ker2*  
 3NOM laugh small, happy  
 (S)he (small) laughed merrily.
- f. a     *nui1 kur2 kur2*  
 3NOM laugh big, happy  
 She (big) laughed heartily.

Note in the above examples that the difference between 'to smile' and 'to laugh' is not in the verb but in the accompanying adverbial particles.

Adverbial particles can modify even the most stative verbs.

- (60) a. a   *luu1 a1 thur3 bim bem*  
 3P head 3NOM tousled small  
 His/her (small) hair is tousled
- b. a   *luu1 a1 thur3 bem bum*  
 3P head 3NOM tousled big  
 His/her (big) hair is tousled.

Thadou has a slightly different way of using the adverbial particles. Where Mizo uses front vowels to represent smaller sizes, Thadou uses them for showing pleasure. Similarly, the vowels used in Mizo for representing larger sizes are used to represent displeasure in Thadou, cf. Krishan (1980: 53-55).

#### 2.5.1.5 Adverbs of degree/intensity

These adverbs show the degree or intensity of the verb. They usually follow active verbs, as shown below. (See also section 2.5.1.1).

- (61) a. a     *haau1 rhep1*  
 3NOM scold INT  
 (S)he gave him a piece of her/his mind.
- b. a     *viin2 tuar2*  
 3NOM yell forceful  
 (S)he spoke sharply and forcefully.

- c. *a au1 vak1*  
 3NOM yell loudly  
 (S)he shouted loudly.
- d. *a1 trap ciam1*  
 3NOM cry much  
 (S)he cried loud and long.
- e. *a ce1 muang1*  
 3NOM move slowly  
 (S)he moves slowly.

### 2.5.2 Pronoun clitics

The pronoun clitic in the VP is obligatory in all clause types except in: relative clauses, imperatives and in *wh*-questions without a subject. Only the deictic motion particles and the reciprocal/reflexive marker can come between it and the verb. See also section 2.3.2.5 for full form pronouns and pronoun clitics in NPs. The influence of cases to produce the different types of pronoun clitics, i.e., the nominative and accusative forms, will be discussed in section 2.5.4.2.

These, then, are some examples of pronoun clitics.

- (62) a. *ka kal1* I go  
 b. *i kal1* you go  
 c. *a kal1* (s)he goes  
 d. *ka-n kal1* we go  
 e. *i-n kal1* you (pl) go  
 f. *a-n kal1* they go

### 2.5.3 Deictic motion particles

One of the characteristics of TB languages is the deictic motion verbs (DeLancey 1985c). In Mizo, these are not verbs but preverbal particles which I call *deictic motion particles* (DMP). The DMPs cliticise before main verb stems and cause the verbal complex to receive an interpretation of the subject's carrying out the action in a certain manner involving locomotion. In all instances it is the individual expressed by the pronoun, which immediately precedes the DMP, that moves.

The DMPs are limited to five lexical items: *va1* 'away from the speaker'; *rom* 'towards addressee' in questions when the questioner is the subject and 'towards speaker' in all other cases; *lou2* 'toward speaker'; *ham2* 'up and away from speaker'; and *zuk* 'down and away from speaker'. These will also agree semantically with the demonstrative pronoun and determiner on NPs, i.e.

- (63) a. *khi1-ta? khi-an1 han kal1 ro?*  
 up there DET-OBLQ up there go IMP  
 Go up there!

- b. *he1-lam1 a? hi-an1 ron son3 ro?*  
 this-side LOC DET-OBLQ hither move IMP  
 Move it hither.
- c. *ka1 ron da? doon1 em2 nii*  
 1NOM thither put ASP Q be  
 Should I (bring it and) put it there?

The DMPs *va1* and *lou2* can be used only with verbs of emotion. If they are used with stative verbs, then the sense of the whole becomes a change of state to an excessive degree, as in:

- (64) a. *a va1 thaau1 vee*  
 3NOM how fat EXCL  
 It's too fat!
- b. *a lou2 trha khop mai2*  
 3NOM here good DEG very  
 (S)he was in good health (surprisingly).

This special restriction can cause some drastic changes in meaning. Thus, even though *lou2* and *ron* both mean 'towards speaker' when used with directional verbs, *lou2* has a completely different meaning when used with a non-directional verb. In this instance, it means something like 'meanwhile' or 'contrary to expectations'. The following are some examples of deictic motion particles. Note how they give a sense of motion to non-versatile verbs. See also DeLancey (1985c).

- (65) a. *ka va1 pee ang2*  
 1NOM thither give MOD  
 I will go thither and give (it to someone).
- b. *ka1 ron ti ang2*  
 1NOM come there do MOD  
 I will come there and do (it).
- c. *ka1 han kou ang2*  
 1NOM up there call MOD  
 I will go up there and call (someone).
- d. *ka1 zuk biaa ang2*  
 1NOM down there speak MOD  
 I will go down there and speak (to someone).
- e. *a lou tlheng1 ang2*  
 3NOM to here arrive MOD  
 (S)he will arrive here.

#### 2.5.4 Verbs

Mizo has two verbal paradigms: one I call *Stem I*: the other *Stem II*. The Stem I verbs and Stem II verbs differ in their phonological shapes. However, it has not been possible to postulate a

phonological rule (see Hillard 1974) relating these suppletive forms to the Stem I forms even though there is some regularity. Usually, the two forms differ both in tone and in the final segment. The Stem II form has mostly low tone or sometimes falling tone; the final segment is either a stop or a glottalised vowel. Stem II verbs are extremely important in Mizo grammar, as explained in section 2.5.4.3. In my description of verbs, I will be using terms as used by Givón (1984).

The Stem I verbs can be further subdivided into two main classes: *active* and *stative* verbs. The best test for distinguishing between the two types is the durative aspect marker *meek 1*. This marker can be applied only to incomplete actions so that one gets:

- (66)     *a        zaai1 meek1*  
           3NOM sing   PROG  
           (S)he is singing.

but not:

- (67)     *\*a        thi1 meek1*  
           3NOM die    PROG  
           (S)he is dying.

Adjectives and the verb 'to be' usually fall into the stative category. Another condition for *meek 1* is that the action should be observable, so that one can say:

- (68)     *a        trhu1 meek1*  
           3NOM sit    PROG  
           (S)he is sitting.

only if one actually sees the person getting into a sitting position. Once the person has sat down, the above can no longer be said. Thus, there are times when a stative verb can become an active verb.

These two types of verbs combine to form *change-of-state verbs*. For example

- (69)     *leʔ-khaa3   a1   pot-som3*  
           paper       3NOM tear-pieces  
           (S)he tore up the paper.

Active verbs become causatives when used with stative adjectives, as shown:

- (70) a.   *mi1    ti-buai2*  
           1ABS make-confuse  
           (S)he confused me.
- b.   *a        soi2-buai2*  
           3NOM say-confuse  
           (S)he got it (story/instructions) mixed up.
- c.   *a        siam1-trhaa*  
           3NOM make-good  
           (S)he repaired it



- d. *a1 daʔ-trhaa*  
 3NOM put-good  
 (S)he put it away in a safe place.

In the above examples, there is a change of state either from good to bad or from bad to worse. The change of state is brought about by an active verb acting on a stative verb so that the active verb is in effect a causative. See also section 2.5.4.4.

### 2.5.4.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitives are those that have at least one nominatively case-marked NP and a nominative clitic pronoun. They can be either *active* or *stative*.

Some examples of active verbs are:

- (71) a. *Zou1-i1 a1 khuʔ*  
 -FSUF 3NOM coughs  
 Zovi is coughing.
- b. *Dou1-a a zuang1*  
 -MSUF 3NOM jumps  
 Dova is jumping.
- c. *Nau1-seen1 a1 trap*  
 infant 3NOM cry  
 A baby is crying.

Stative verbs can take the following forms:

- (72) a. *Zou1-i1 in1 aʔ a om2*  
 -FSUF house LOC 3NOM exist  
 Zovi is in the house.
- b. *ka1 nuu3 a1 nñi*  
 1P mother 3NOM is  
 She is my mother.
- c. *Rin3-a zir1-tiir1-tuu3 a1 nñi*  
 -MSUF 3NOM teacher 3NOM is  
 Rina is a teacher.

Intransitives can have locative or temporal complements, as in:

- (73) a. *Rou-a thing1 aʔ a loon1*  
 -MSUF tree LOC 3NOM climb  
 Rova climbed a tree.
- b. *ziing1 aʔ a-n chuak3*  
 morning LOC 3NOM-PL left  
 They left in the morning.

Sentences with reflexives and reciprocals count as intransitive with regard to their case marking, as in:

- (74) a. *a1 in -vit*  
           3NOM REF-stab  
           (S)he stabbed herself/himself
- b. *a2-n in -haau1*  
           3NOM-PL RCP-scold  
           The are quarelling

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are intransitive in Mizo because one can have:

- (75) *Zou1-a a1 in-vit*  
           -MSUF 3NOM REF-stab  
           Zova stabbed himself.

but not

- (76) *\*Zou1-a in a1 in-vit*  
           -MSUF ERG 3NOM REF-vit  
           Zova stabbed himself.

That is, reflexives or reciprocals cannot take the ergative case marking, even though the verb is a transitive verb. However, since both markers have the same phonological shape, it is possible that the reflexive or reciprocal detransitivises a normally transitive verb.

Meteorological verbs are also intransitive:

- (77) a. *rua? a suur1*  
           rain 3NOM rains  
           It is raining.
- b. *kool1 a phee2*  
           sky 3NOM flash  
           There is lightning.

Another type of intransitive construction involves emotive verbs (inner emotions or physical states).

- (78) a. *ka1 luak3 a1 chuak3*  
           1P vomit 3NOM come out  
           I'm nauseated.
- b. *ka1 thin a1 raim3*  
           1P heart 3NOM works hard  
           I'm angry.

### 2.5.4.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive sentences have the most complex morphology. The NPs display an ergative-absolutive system and the verb has a largely nominative-accusative encoding system. That is, the subjects of both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb are encoded alike in the VP. In the NP, the ergative case marker is *in*, and the absolutive case marker is  $\emptyset$ .

- (79) *nau1-pang1 in aar1  $\emptyset$  a1 uum3*  
 child ERG chicken ABS 3NOM chase  
 A child is chasing a chicken.

Thus, the terms 'subject' and 'object' in Mizo refer to what is encoded by the case markers. For instance, 'subject' in Mizo does not always involve an active agent, cf.

- (80) a. *bang1 in kil-lii1  $\emptyset$  a1 nei*  
 wall ERG corner-four ABS 3NOM has  
 A wall has four corners
- b. *nin-lhei3 in to1-peeng1  $\emptyset$  a1 nei*  
 mischief ERG consequence ABS 3NOM has  
 Mischief has it's (undesirable) consequence.
- c. *pi1-tar1 in Thang1-kuur1-a  $\emptyset$  a rhiaa2*  
 woman-old ERG -MSUF ABS 3NOM knows  
 The old woman knows Thangkura.

Therefore, I will define a transitive 'subject' in Mizo as one that is marked with the ergative marker in the NP. The transitive 'object' and the intransitive 'subject' are marked with the absolutive marker in the NP. From here on, the terms 'subject' and 'object' will be used in this specialised sense.

If there is more than one subject, the ergative marker comes at the end of the NP.

- (81) *nau1-pang2 le? ui1 in aar1  $\emptyset$  a-n uum3*  
 child and dog ERG chicken ABS 3NOM-PL chase  
 A child and a dog are chasing a chicken.

Instruments are marked with the oblique marker *in 1*, as in:

- (82) *nau1-pang1 in tiang in 1 ui  $\emptyset$  a1 vaa*  
 child ERG stick OBLQ dog ABS 3NOM hit  
 A child is hitting a dog with a stick.

When it comes to the object (direct or indirect), there is a further complication. If the object is first person, the object is marked before the verb, instead of a second or third person subject marker, as in:

- (83) *lal1 in mi haau1*  
 chief ERG 1ACC scold  
 The chief scolded me.

The first person accusative marker is phonologically unstable: it does not always follow the PRONOUN CLITIC TONE SANDHI RULE<sup>6</sup> (cf. 84a, b) and also alternates with the plural form (cf. 84c). So, one can get any of the following synonymous sentences:

- (84) a. *mi1 pe? ro?*  
1ACC give IMP  
Give it to me.
- b. *mi pe ro?*  
1ACC give IMP  
Give it to me.
- c. *min2 pe ro?*  
1ACC-(PL) give IMP  
Give it to me (us).

Nowadays, many people use the last example, 84c, for either singular or plural.

If the object is second person, it is marked both nominative and accusative (the only time there is an accusative marking) so that we get:

- (85) *lal1 in a haau1 ce1*  
chief ERG 3NOM scold 2ACC  
The chief scolded you.

If the object is third person, there is no marking, as in:

- (86) *lal1 in a haau1 ø*  
chief ERG 3NOM scold 3ACC  
The chief scolded him/her.

The pronoun clitic system can be summarised thus:

| (87) | NOM        | ACC          |
|------|------------|--------------|
| 1    | <i>ka-</i> | <i>mina-</i> |
| 2    | <i>i-</i>  | <i>-ce1</i>  |
| 3    | <i>a-</i>  | <i>ø</i>     |

The accusative clitics are used for direct objects, and also for indirect objects; see section 3.2.8.

Transitive verbs are generally active verbs. They usually reflect some kind of change that is registered by the patient/object. Thus, if the object is created, we get:

- (88) a. *in ø a1 saa*  
house ABS 3NOM build  
(S)he is building a house.
- b. *sum ø a1 sui?*  
mortar ABS 3NOM carve  
(S)he is carving a mortar.

c. *lhaa*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *phua?*  
 song ABS 3NOM compose  
 (S)he composed a song.

d. *beel1*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *vuaa*  
 pot ABS 3NOM hit  
 (S)he is making a (clay) pot.

The verbs can also refer to totally destroyed objects, as in:

(89) *in 2*  $\emptyset$  *a-n* *trhiat 3*  
 house ABS 3NOM-PL undo  
 They tore down the house.

Most transitive verbs, however, encode some sort of change in the object/patient's state. The change can be a physical change in the object, as in:

- (90) a. *cem1*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *taat3-rhiaam1*  
 knife ABS 3NOM whet-sharp  
 (S)he sharpened the knife.
- b. *le?-khaa3*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *pot-soom3*  
 paper ABS 3NOM pull-pieces  
 (S)he tore the paper to pieces.
- c. *nou1*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *vo-ke?*  
 cup ABS 3NOM hit-break  
 (S)he hit and broke the cup.

Other transitive verbs refer to the change in the object's location, as in:

- (91) a. *beel1*  $\emptyset$  *a* *suan2*  
 pot ABS 3NOM move from fire  
 (S)he took the pot off the fire.
- b. *aar1-in2*  $\emptyset$  *a-n* *son3*  
 chicken-house ABS 3NOM-PL move  
 They moved the chicken house.

Some transitive verbs encode change with an implied instrument, as in:

- (92) a. *saa3*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *can2*  
 meat ABS 3NOM-PL cut  
 They are cutting the meat (with a knife).
- b. *pang-paar1*  $\emptyset$  *a-n* *tlhiak3*  
 flower ABS 3NOM-PL break-off  
 They broke off the flower (with their hands).

- c. *tual1*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *saam2*  
 field ABS 3NOM-PL clear  
 They are weeding the fields.

Some changes can be considered to be surface change, as in:

- (93) a. *puan*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *suu*  
 clothes ABS 3NOM wash  
 (S)he is washing clothes.  
 b. *beel1*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *noot3*  
 pot ABS 3NOM scrub  
 (S)he is scrubbing pots.  
 c. *aar1*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *pua?*  
 chicken ABS 3NOM pluck feathers  
 (S)he is dressing the chicken.

Other changes can be internal, as in:

- (94) a. *be-kang1*  $\emptyset$  *a-n* *um1*  
 soy beans ABS 3NOM-PL ferment  
 They are fermenting soy beans.  
 b. *saa3*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *reep2*  
 meat ABS 3NOM-PL dry  
 They smoked the meat.

Thus, the above examples demonstrate that a minimal transitive clause requires an object and a pronoun clitic.

There are a few transitive verbs that seem more stative than active, that is, they cannot usually take the progressive marker *meek1* (probably because these events occur over a longer period), as in:

- (95) a. *pil-tar1* *in* *vok*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *vul?*  
 woman-old ERG pigs ABS 3NOM raise  
 The old woman raises pigs.  
 b. *saap3* *in* *fa-rha?*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *coom2*  
 British ERG orphan ABS 3NOM-PL feed  
 The British are taking care of orphans.

Verbs of cognition such as *rhia2* 'to know', *tii* 'to think/consider' and *thiam2* 'to know (a skill)' are also stative in this sense, as in:

- (96) a. *pil-tar1* *in* *Zou1-a*  $\emptyset$  *a* *rhiaa2*  
 woman-old ERG -MSUF ABS 3NOM knows  
 The old woman knows Zova.

- b. *pi1-tar1 in Zou1-a ø trhaa a1 ti*  
 woman-old ERG -MSUF ABS good 3NOM thinks  
 The old woman thinks Zova is nice.
- c. *pi1-tar1 in puan2-ta? ø a thiam2*  
 woman-old ERG cloth-weave ABS 3NOM knows  
 The old woman knows how to weave.

### 2.5.4.3 Stem II verbs

The phonological aspects of Stem II verbs have received considerable attention. With regard to their historical origin and their relationship to Stem I verbs, Löffler (1973), Hillard (1974) and Lehman (1982) have dealt with the pertinent data in related Chin languages. The issue is far from resolved but I will not comment any further except to emphasise that the phonological relationship between Stem I and Stem II is no longer productive. Various evidence points to this. First of all, some of the major differences between the 'North' and 'South' dialects involve differences in Stem II forms. Secondly, children do not master both forms until age five or later.

In this paper, the distinction between Stem I and Stem II is a purely phonological one. I do not consider them to be separate verb classes. For instance, there are some cases where the Stem II form of an intransitive verb is the Stem I of a transitive verb.

- (97) a. *nau1-seen1 a muu1*  
 infant 3NOM sleepI  
 An infant is sleeping.
- b. *nau1-seen ø ka1 mut*  
 infant ABS 1NOM sleepII  
 I put an infant to sleep.

There are also instances where the Stem I form is a verb and the Stem II form is a noun.<sup>7</sup>

It is also possible that the relationship is iconic as Stem II forms are predominantly used for background or known information (as in embedded clauses). Stem II forms are also less active and more restricted in their choice of environments. Thus, in word formation morphology, the derived form uses the Stem II verb if the derived form is less animate (or more abstract) than its original form. For instance, one finds:

- (98) a. *co-chuum-tuu3*  
 rice-cookI-AGT  
 a cook
- b. *co-chum3-na1*  
 rice-cookII-NLZ  
 kitchen (place for cooking)/cooking utensil

There thus seems to be a relationship between tone, information and syntactic construction. That is, Stem II forms which are mostly low tone (with a few falling tones) are used for known

information and more passive constructions. Indeed, Lehman (1982) mentions that Stem II is used when the focus changes from the (more salient) agent to the (more passive) patient. This relationship between tone and grammatical constructions has been noted in African languages, cf. Bearth (1980) and Ubels (1983) and it would not be too far-fetched to assume that a similar correlation exists in Mizo.<sup>8</sup>

Here are some examples of Stem II verbs with their Stem I counterparts:

| (99) | Stem I         | Stem II        | Gloss            |
|------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| a.   | <i>puu1</i>    | <i>put</i>     | to carry         |
| b.   | <i>rhing1</i>  | <i>rhin3</i>   | to give birth to |
| c.   | <i>ral2</i>    | <i>ral</i>     | to disappear     |
| d.   | <i>hua2</i>    | <i>huat3</i>   | to hate          |
| e.   | <i>ruak3</i>   | <i>rua?</i>    | to empty out     |
| f.   | <i>tlheng3</i> | <i>tlheng3</i> | to exchange      |
| g.   | <i>tii</i>     | <i>ti?</i>     | to do            |
| h.   | <i>rü</i>      | <i>riik3</i>   | to make noise    |

Note that the Stem II verbs are glossed 'II' (as in Hillard 1974).

#### 2.5.4.4 Serial verbs and derived verbs

Like many South-east Asian languages, Mizo has a productive system of serial verbs, cf. Matisoff (1974). There are two major types: one I call change-of-state verbs; the others are derived from what I call *derived* verbs. The change-of-state verbs are the most common. Typically these consist of an active verb followed by a stative verb.

- (100) a. *nou1 a1 ti-ke?*  
cup 3NOM make-break  
(S)he broke the cup.
- b. *nou1 a1 vo-ke?*  
cup 3NOM hit-break  
(S)he hit the cup and broke it.
- c. *nou1 a1 tlhau?-ke?*  
cup 3NOM drop-break  
(S)he dropped and broke the cup.
- d. *nou1 a1 pai?-ke?*  
cup 3NOM throw-break  
(S)he threw and broke the cup.

Thus, from the above examples we can see that the first part of the serial verb indicates the manner or means by which the object reached its current state. In other words, there is a change of state from an unbroken cup to a broken cup via the actions indicated by the active verbs.



In some serial verb constructions, the second verb can no longer exist as a main verb stem, even though it still has a distinct meaning of its own. I shall call this type of verb derived verbs for the time being as they are related to the preceding verb. The most common of all is *-lhum* meaning 'to become dead'.

- (101) a. *tui1 a? a1 tla-lhum*  
 water LOC 3NOM fall-dead  
 (S)he drowned.
- b. *lung1 in a1 del?-lhum*  
 rock ERG 3NOM fall on-dead  
 A rock crushed him/her to death.
- c. *mii3 a-n ook3-lhum*  
 person 3NOM-PL hang-dead  
 They hanged someone (to death).

In the following examples, the second part of the derived verb indicates the attitude or intentions or purpose of the subject.

- (102) a. *a1 tlu-lui*  
 3NOM fall-purpose  
 (S)he fell on purpose.
- b. *a1 tlu-tral?3*  
 3NOM fall-in spite of  
 (S)he (stubbornly) fell on purpose.
- c. *a1 tlu-pal?*  
 3NOM fall-accidentally  
 (S)he accidentally fell.
- d. *a mu1-der1*  
 3NOM sleep-feign  
 (S)he feigned sleep.
- e. *a1 en3-look3*  
 3NOM look-ahead  
 (S)he looked ahead of time/revised.
- f. *a1 en3-rhaam2*  
 3NOM look-with great difficulty  
 (S)he looked with great difficulty.

Another type of verb concatenation involves DMPs and motion verbs that form one syntactic unit.

- (103) a. *a lou-kal1*  
 3NOM hither-go  
 (S)he came (hither).

- b. *a1      chuk-tlhaa*  
 3NOM descend-downwards  
 (S)he descended.

Note that in each of these examples the DMP's (*lou2* and *tlhaa*) can no longer stand as a lexical main verb. This lexicalisation of motion verbs has been attested to in several TB languages; see DeLancey (1983) and (1985c).

The other type of derived verbs modify only Stem II verbs. These are adjectival verbs expressing degree or manner (something like '-ness' in English).

- (104) a. *i1   aat3   -   ziaa*  
 2P foolishII-ness  
 your foolishness
- b. *i1   aat3   -   daan*  
 2P foolishII-manner  
 the manner of your folly
- c. *a1   aat3   -   tlhaak*  
 3P foolishII-ness  
 it is (very) foolish

The others express benefactive or causative relationships.

- (105) a. *kor   mil   lei-sak*  
 dress 1ABS buyII-BEN  
 (S)he bought a dress for/from me.
- b. *kor   mil   lei-pui*  
 dress 1ABS buyII-with  
 (S)he helped me buy a dress.
- c. *kor   mil   lei-tiir1*  
 dress 1ABS buyII-compel  
 (S)he made me buy a dress.

Still others show movement away from or over the object.

- (106) a. *ui   ka1   zuan-khum3*  
 dog 1NOM jumpII-over  
 I jumped over a dog
- b. *in   ka1   kal-san3*  
 house 1NOM goII-desert  
 I deserted the house.

### 2.5.5 Aspect markers

Aspect markers are particles and not lexical words. Their position is immediately following the adverbial particles (which can also mark aspect). Aspect markers relate an event to the time axis. They indicate if an event has happened yet, and if the event is completed or about to be completed. They also indicate how soon one can expect an event to take place and whether or not the event has been a long-awaited one. Several aspect markers have similar meanings with just shades of difference in their interpretation. Traditional grammarians have mistaken them for tense markers, even though their examples clearly show that Mizo does not mark tense (see Lorrain and Savidge (1898)). The following examples illustrate the versatility of aspect markers:

- (107) a. *a kal1 to?*  
 3NOM go PST/COMPL  
 (S)he already left.
- b. *a kal1 taa3*  
 3NOM go at last  
 (S)he has left at last.
- c. *a kal1 cia?1*  
 3NOM go just now  
 (S)he just left.
- d. *a kal1 meek1*  
 3NOM go PROG  
 (S)he is going.
- e. *a kal1 treep3*  
 3NOM go IMM FUT  
 (S)he is just about to leave.
- f. *a kal1 doon1*  
 3NOM go ASP  
 (S)he is going to leave/go.
- g. *a kal1 doon1 to?*  
 3NOM go ASP PST/COMPL  
 (S)he is going to leave/go shortly.
- h. *a kal1 doon1 treep3*  
 3NOM go ASP IMM FUT  
 (S)he is almost leaving.

### 2.5.6 Mode marker

The mode marker *ang2* marks a probable event or state. Because it is connected to a future event, it is often mistaken for a future tense marker. The examples below will demonstrate that it is different from the future tense marker for several reasons. For instance, it follows the negation

marker whereas the future tense marker precedes it. The fact that they can both occur within the same phrase indicates that their functions are different.

- (108) a. *a kal1 ang2*  
           3NOM go MOD  
           (S)he will go.
- b. *a kal1 lou ang2*  
      3NOM go NEG MOD  
      (S)he will not go.
- c. *a kal1 doon1 lou ang2*  
      3NOM go ASP NEG MOD  
      (S)he will not be going.

Lehman calls both *ang2* and *doon1* 'future irrealis mode markers', (in personal communication). I have decided not to make this distinction until I find a satisfactory explanation for their syntactic difference.

### 2.5.7 Negation marker

The negation word in Mizo, *lou*, follows what it negates.

- (109) a. *a kal1 du? lou*  
           3NOM go desire NEG  
           (S)he does not want to go.
- b. *a mu1 lou*  
      3NOM sleep NEG  
      (S)he is not sleeping.
- c. *a mu1 doon1 lou*  
      3NOM sleep ASP NEG  
      (S)he is not going to sleep
- d. *a mu1 lou ang2*  
      3NOM sleep NEG MOD  
      (S)he will not sleep.

## 2.6 Morphology and cliticisation

Tibeto-Burman languages tend to have complex morphology, cf. Bauman (1974), Michailovsky (1974) and DeLancey (1983). Mizo is no exception and I will deal very briefly with some of the verb morphology.

To start with, it will be useful to set up some criteria for distinguishing between particles, clitics and affixes. Zwicky (1985) has given some useful guidelines. For the time being I will distinguish between grammatical words and affixes as the latter are inflectional. Moreover, affixes

have a wide variety of phonological shapes and generally also have a wide variety of tones; cf. plural affixes. I have further subdivided grammatical words into three categories: clitics, particles and words. Of these, only the last can constitute the major word classes while the others are modifiers of some sort. The distinction between clitics and particles is not very clear at this point. In general, clitics are obligatory whereas particles are not. Particles can also be distinguished by their phonological properties. For instance, particles and words have similar phonological shapes but particles usually do not undergo the SYLLABLE STRENGTHENING RULE<sup>9</sup> and are affected by intonation. Moreover, particles have very little lexical content but are highly functional.

The test to differentiate between clitics and affixes is even more difficult to conduct. Phonological rules are helpful in distinguishing between the two. For instance, clitics behave like independent words whereas affixes can change their phonological shape under certain conditions. A good example is the determiners where the tone of the ergative suffix combines with the tone of the determiner to form a different tone. Moreover, affixes are often one phonological unit: the demonstrative pronoun plural marker *-ng*, for instance.

## 2.6.1 Affixes

There are relatively few affixes. These are some of the more important ones:

### 2.6.1.1 Gender suffix

All proper names must have a gender suffix (see also section 2.3.2.4). The female gender suffix *-i1* and the male gender suffix *-a* are dropped in the vocative case, if the name is longer than two syllables. The vocative case is indicated by a low tone on the final syllable. For female names, the low tone of the vocative combines with the high tone of the affix so that the tone becomes a falling tone. Thus we get TONE CONTOURING<sup>10</sup> as in the case of determiners followed by ergative markers. (Tone contouring does not apply to male names because they are low tone in citation form.) Consider the following examples:

- |                                      |                                   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (110) a. <i>Maam1-a</i>              | Mama (boy's nickname)             |
| b. <i>Maam1-aa</i>                   | Mama! (vocative)                  |
| c. <i>Maam1-i1</i>                   | Mami (girl's nickname)            |
| d. <i>Maam1-ii3</i>                  | Mami! (vocative)                  |
| e. <i>Maam1-boi?-a</i><br>-EMT-MSUF  | Mambawiha (usually firstborn son) |
| f. <i>Maam1-boi?-i1</i><br>-EMT-FSUF | Mambawih                          |
| g. <i>Maam1-boi?</i>                 | Mambawih! (vocative)              |

### 2.6.1.2 Plural suffix

Pronouns are the only items marked for number. Each of the different types of pronouns have their own plural form. Thus, *-nii3* is the plural marker for full pronouns, *-n* is the plural marker for subject pronoun clitics and *-ng* is the plural marker for the demonstrative pronouns. (See also section 2.3.1.1 and section 2.3.2.5.) For example:

- (111) a. *kei2 ka zaai1*  
 IPRO INOM sing  
 I sing
- b. *kei-nii3 ka-n zaai1*  
 IPRO-PL INOM-PL sing  
 we sing
- c. *ka zaai1*  
 INOM sing  
 I sing
- d. *ka-n zaai1*  
 INOM-PL sing  
 we sing
- e. *hee nou1 hi1*  
 DPRO cup DET  
 this cup
- f. *hee3-ng nou1 hi1*  
 DPRO-PL cup DET  
 these cups

The plural marker for the demonstrative pronoun is restricted to non-humans. Thus one cannot have:

- (112) *\*hee3-ng mii3 hi1*  
 DPRO-PL cup DET  
 these people

Instead, the preferred form is:

- (113) *hee mii3 te1 hi1*  
 DPRO person EX DET  
 these people and such

### 2.6.1.3 Relativiser

The relativiser *-a* and the third person nominative clitic *a* probably have the same historical origin, cf. Lehman (1975b). It is used both in relative clause constructions and in genitival constructions. In relative clauses, the relativiser optionally follows the relative clause.

- (114) *pu1-tar1 vok lei1 (-a) kha1*  
 old-man pig buy (-REL) DET  
 the old man who bought a pig

If the subject of the relative clause is female *-i1* may be used instead.

- (115) *pi1-tar1 vok lei (-i1) kha1*  
 old-woman pig buy (-REL) DET  
 the old woman who bought the pig

In genitival-of constructions, the relativiser carries a high tone, as in.

- (116) *nang1-a1 faa3*  
 2PRO-REL child  
 the child of yours

Furthermore, the relativiser will coalesce with the final vowel of the preceding word, and change the tone of the preceding word as well.

- (117) *//tuu-a1 ui2// → /tuu1 ui2/*  
 WH -REL dog WH-REL dog  
 whose dog/dog of whom?

There is a homophonous and perhaps related nominalising prefix *a1* which occurs before verbs and bound noun stems that are nominalised. One may perhaps instead compare this with the third person nominative verb clitic *a*.

- (118) a. *a1-trhaaa trha3*  
 of-good good  
 the best ones (out of the rest)
- b. *a1-nuu a1-paa*  
 it-female it-male  
 both male and female
- c. *a1-lian a-tee2*  
 it-big it-small  
 both great and small

There are also instances where *a1-* has become lexicalised, as in the following conjunctions, cf. 3.4.3.

- (119) a. *a1-trang1* from  
 b. *a1-piang1* whoever  
 c. *a1-vaang* because

The above examples also show that the prefix *a1-* is probably not the third person nominative clitic since it does not undergo tone sandhi.

#### 2.6.1.4 Ergative and oblique suffixes on determiners

The determiners have their own markers which are similar to the regular ergative marker and the oblique marker, see section 2.3.1.3. The markers on the determiners can co-occur with the other marker, without causing any changes in the meaning, though the complete form sounds more emphatic. Thus, the ergative marker and the oblique marker are optional for determiners. Compare the following examples:

- (120) a. *hei3 hi-an3 a1 vu2a*  
 DPRO DET-ERG 3NOM hit  
 This (one) hit him.
- b. *hei3 hi-an3 in a1 vu2a*  
 DPRO DET-ERG ERG 3NOM hit  
 This (one) hit him.
- c. *hei3 hi-an1 a1 vu2a*  
 DPRO DET-OBLQ 3NOM hit  
 (S)he hit it with this.
- d. *hei3 hi-an1 in1 a1 vu2a*  
 DPRO DET-OBLQ OBLQ 3NOM hit  
 (S)he hit it with this.

#### 2.6.1.5 Nominaliser

Verbs and adjectives are nominalised by the suffix *-na1*. See also section 2.3.2.3 on nominalised nouns. The same suffix is used for ordinal numbers.

- (121) a. *a-mheel1 a? mooi-na1 a om2 lou*  
 3P face LOC pretty-NLZ 3NOM exist NEG  
 There was no beauty on his face.
- b. *ka1 trhut-na1 a? i trhuu1*  
 1P sitII-NLZ LOC 2NOM sit  
 You're sitting where I sat/my chair
- c. *pa-khat-na1 a1 nii*  
 unit-one-NLZ 3NOM is  
 (S)he was first

#### 2.6.1.6 Agentiviser

The agentiviser *-tuu3* is equivalent to the English '-er', as demonstrated in the following examples.



- (122) a. *puan trhui1-tuu3*  
 cloth sew -AGT  
 tailor
- b. *khool1 chu1-tuu3*  
 machine strike-AGT  
 typist
- c. *be-raam veeng1-tuu3*  
 sheep guard-AGT  
 shepherd

It seems that both the nominaliser and the agentiviser are rather recent developments since both are used mainly for things that are foreign to traditional Mizo society. Another similarity between the two is that both are suffixed to a similar class of words. The major difference between the two is that the nominaliser is used on words derived from Stems II verbs, whereas the agentiviser is used on words derived from Stem I verbs.

#### 2.6.1.7 Reflexive/reciprocal prefix

The reflexive and reciprocal prefix are the same. The difference between the two is indicated by the preceding nominative marker where the singular form is used for reflexives and the plural form for reciprocals. Reciprocity (of an action) is indicated by prefixing *in-* to the main verb. For example:

- (123) a. *a1 in-meet3*  
 3NOM REF-shave  
 He is shaving himself.
- b. *a2-n in-sual1*  
 3NOM-PL RCP-fight  
 They are fighting (each other).

Reflexives with full NPs are as follows:

- (124) a. *kei2-ma? le? kei2-ma? ka1 in-biaa*  
 1PRO-EMP and 1PRO-EMP 1NOM REF-speak to  
 I'm talking to myself.
- b. *nang2-ma? le? nang2-ma? i1 in-biaa*  
 2PRO -EMP and 2PRO -EMP 2NOM REF-speak to  
 You are talking to yourself.
- c. *a1-ma? le? a1-ma? a1 in-biaa*  
 3PRO-EMP and 3PRO-EMP 3NOM REF-speak to  
 (S)he is talking to herself/himself.

- d. *a2-n maʔ-nii3 leʔ a2-n maʔ-nii3 a2-n in-bum*  
 3PRO-PL EMP-PL and 3PRO-PL EMP-PL 3NOM-PL REF-cheat  
 They are cheating each other/one is cheating the other.

I have chosen to call *in-* a prefix because in many cases, words containing this prefix have become one lexical item. That is, a word such as *in-duʔ* means 'to be proud' and is no longer associated with its original meaning 'to desire oneself'.

- (125) a. *in-sual1*  
 RCP-fight  
 to fight  
 b. *in-dou1*  
 RCP-war  
 to be at war  
 c. *in-cei1*  
 RCP-decorate  
 to be dressed up  
 d. *in-khoom3*  
 RCP-gather  
 to meet as a group  
 e. *in-duʔ*  
 RCP-want  
 to be proud  
 f. *in-tiat3*  
 RCP-same size  
 to be of the same size

When the direct cause of an event cannot be determined for sure, the prefix *in-* is used (sometimes to clear oneself of blame).

- (126) a. *kong1-kaa1 a1 in-hong1*  
 door 3NOM REF-open  
 The door is open (who knows who opened it).  
 b. *ka1 la-phiaar a1 in-trhiat3*  
 1PRO-thread-knit(II) 3NOM REF-undo  
 My knitting got undone (by itself).

The reflexive usually suggests volitional action by the subject, so that

- (127) *cem1 in1 ka1 in-aat3*  
 knife OBLQ 1NOM REF-cut  
 I cut myself with a knife.

implies that the subject was careless. That is, the above example could be interpreted to mean 'I wasn't watching what I was doing so I cut myself'. On the other hand, the following sentence implies that the action was accidental;

- (128)    *cem1 in mi1 aat3*  
          knife ERG 1ABS cut  
          A knife cut me.

This example could mean that 'the knife slipped and cut me'. The case markers on 'knife' are different in the above examples. In 127 it is marked with the instrumental or oblique marker but in 128 it is marked with the ergative marker. Similarly, the first person nominative becomes first person accusative, that is, the subject in 127 is the object in 128. Thus, when there is no reflexive, the speaker becomes the object, that is, the patient of an action beyond his/her control. It is also interesting to note that Tibetan has a way of distinguishing between volitional and non-volitional, cf. DeLancey (1985a, b).

## 2.6.2 Clitics

Because their phonological shapes and properties are so similar, it is often difficult to distinguish between particles and clitics. Historically, they might all have been particles. However, it seems as though clitics have lost their grammatical independence, and in the case of pronoun clitics, even their phonological independence. Clitics are obligatory in certain constructions whereas particles are not.

### 2.6.2.1 Pronoun clitics

As mentioned earlier, pronoun clitics are tightly bound to whatever they precede. There are only three types in the noun phrase (see section 2.3.2.5) whereas in the verb phrase there are two more besides these: the prefixed first person accusative marker and the suffixed second person accusative marker. The following examples will demonstrate how the different forms are used in a transitive clause.

The subject pronoun clitics in an intransitive clause are as follows:

- (129) a. *poon1 a? ka1 chuak3*  
          outside LOC 1NOM exit  
          I went outside.
- b. *poon1 a? i1 chuak3*  
          outside LOC 2NOM exit  
          You went outside.
- c. *poon1 a? a1 chuak3*  
          outside LOC 3NOM leave  
          (S)he went outside

The pronoun clitics for objects are as follows:

- (130) a. *aar1 in mi1 cuk*  
           hen ERG 1ACC peck  
           A hen pecked me.
- b. *aar1 in a1 cuk ce1*  
           hen ERG 3NOM peck 2ACC  
           A hen pecked you.
- c. *aar1 in a1 cuk ø*  
           hen ERG 3NOM peck 3ACC  
           A hen pecked (her/him/it).

Plural forms of the pronoun clitics are as follows:

- (131) a. *aar1-rual in a2-n cuk ø*  
           hen-flock ERG 3NOM-PL peck 3ACC  
           A flock of hens pecked it.
- b. *aar1 in a1 cuk ce1 u1*  
           hen ERG 3NOM peck 2ACC PL  
           A hens pecked you (pl).
- c. *aar1 in a2-n cuk ce1 u1*  
           hen ERG 3NOM-PL peck 2ACC PL  
           (Several) hens pecked you (pl).

### 2.6.2.2 Ergative marker

Like many languages of this area, Mizo is a partially ergative language. In a transitive clause, the agent is marked by a case marker on the noun phrase. At the same time, the obligatory pronoun clitics in the verb phrase are organised according to nominative-accusative principles (see the preceding section and section 2.5.4.2).

The ergative case marker is a clitic and not an affix because it follows the whole noun phrase (including conjoined NPs), and is attached to whatever happens to be the last item in the noun phrase. It is optional when there are determiners. See also section 2.3.1.3.

- (132) a. *Dou1-an3 mi1 vaa*  
           -MSUF ERG 1ACC hit  
           Dova hit me.
- b. *ka1 nuu3 in mi1 vaa*  
           IP mother ERG 1ACC beat  
           My mother beat me.

- c. *ka1 nuu3 le? ka1 paa3 in min2 vaa*  
 1P mother and 1P father ERG 1ACC beat  
 My mother and my father beat me.
- d. *hee naau1 le? soo naau1 soo3-n in mi1 veel*  
 this child and that child DET-ERG ERG 1ACC hit  
 This child and that child hit me.

### 2.6.2.3 Oblique marker

The oblique marker also marks instruments. Furthermore, it has two phonological forms: *in 1* for words and the suffix *-an 1* for determiners and relative clause constructions. The ergative marker and the oblique marker are identical except for their tone (see also section 3.1.1). For example:

- (133) a. *tiang in1 mi1 vaa*  
 stick OBLQ 1ACC beat  
 (Someone) beat me with a stick.
- b. *tui2 le? chang in1 ka tlai1*  
 water and bread OBLQ INOM be satisfied  
 I am satisfied with (just) bread and water.
- c. *la-sen1 le? la-pool in1 ka1 triaal*  
 yarn-red and yarn-blue OBLQ INOM stripedII  
 I made the stripes with red and blue yarn.

### 2.6.2.4 Locative marker

As mentioned earlier (section 2.3.1.2 and 2.5.1.3), the locative marker has two basic forms: *a?* for any noun and *ta?* for determiners.

- (134) a. *Ai1-zool1 a? ka peem1 doon1*  
 Aizawl LOC INOM move to ASP  
 I am going to move to Aizawl.
- b. *so1 ta? soo1-n ka kal1 du?*  
 DPRO LOC DET-OBLQ INOM go desire  
 I want to go there

The above two forms are further modified in non-main clauses (e.g. relative clauses) or in transitive clauses by the addition of the relativiser, *-a 1*.

- (135) a. *Ai1-zool a1 ka1 kal nii1 kha-an1*  
 Aizawl LOC-REL INOM goII day DET-OBLQ  
 On the day that I went to Aizawl ...

- b. *So1 ta1 mii3 so1 ka1 en3*  
 there LOC-REL person DET INOM look  
 I'm looking at that man over there.

### 2.6.3 Particles

As mentioned earlier, particles are distinguished by their unique phonetic characteristics, and by their grammatical function. Particles are usually low in content but high in function, especially in conveying the attitude of the speaker. Some particles are obligatory, depending on the context, but they are usually optional.

#### 2.6.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns and determiners

As mentioned earlier, the demonstrative pronoun and the determiner agree in deictic degree. Refer to sections 2.3.1, 2.3.1.1, 2.3.1.2, 2.3.1.3, 2.6.1.2 and 2.6.1.4 for demonstrative pronoun and determiner morphologies. See also Benedict (1983). The following are the six possible pairs in Mizo:

(136) Dem pro and det

- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. <i>hei3 hi1</i>   | this (near speaker)   |
| b. <i>khaa3 kha1</i> | that (near addressee) |
| c. <i>khi3 khi1</i>  | that (up there)       |
| d. <i>khuu3 khu1</i> | that (down there)     |
| e. <i>soo3 so1</i>   | that (far)            |
| f. <i>cuu3 cu1</i>   | that (out of sight)   |

It is worth noting here that out of the above determiners, there are two that have a different meaning within the context of a discourse. The two *kha1* 'that' and *cu1* are anaphoric, where *kha1* refers to something that the speaker has heard or seen but that the addressee has maybe only seen or heard of; and *cu1* refers to something the addressee has seen or heard of but the speaker has only heard of. When used in this sense (that is, to refer to something in the past) the determiners *kha1* and *cu1* can follow any of the other demonstrative pronouns, as in:

- (137) a. *he1 ta1 mii3 kha1*  
 here LOC-REL person that  
 the person who was over here.
- b. *so1-laai1 a1 mii3 cu1*  
 that-about LOC-REL person there  
 (I wonder about) that person over there.

The anaphoric function of the determiners becomes obvious when one compares the above examples with the examples shown below:

- (138) a. *he1 ta1 mi3 hi1*  
           this LOC-REL person this  
           this person over here
- b. *so1-laai1 a1 mi3 so1*  
           that-about LOC-REL person that  
           that person over there

Moreover, the determiner *cu1* is the only determiner that can follow any of the other demonstrative pronoun and determiner pairs. When this happens, *cu1* effectively negates the whole NP, as in:

- (139) *hei3 hi1 cu1*  
           this this that  
           not this one

### 2.6.3.2 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particle for demonstrative pronouns is *ma?*. It can be roughly translated to mean something like 'excluding all else', cf. Lehman (1977).

- (140) a. *eng3 ma? ka1 mhu lou*  
           WH EMP 1NOM see NEG  
           I don't see anything.
- b. *a1-nii3 ma? a lou-kal1*  
           3PRO-PL EMP 3NOM come  
           Even (s)he came.

### 2.6.3.3 Quantifying particles

Quantifying particles can occur both in the noun phrase and the verb phrase. The most important ones in the noun phrase were shown in section 2.3.5.2. Those in the verb phrase are modal in character and are postverbal. It is usually not necessary to have quantifying particles in both noun phrase and verb phrase.

The examples below will show the difference between the two types.

- (141) a. *ka aar1 zong zong3 mi1 lei sak*  
           1P hen all 1ACC buyII BEN  
           (S)he bought all my hens for/from me.
- b. *ka aar1 min2 lei sak vek1*  
           1P hen 1ACC buyII BEN all  
           (S)he bought all my hens for/from me.

- c. *aar1 tam2 tak .a lei2*  
 hen many INT 3NOM bought  
 (S)he bought several hens.
- d. *aar1 a lei treuʔ1*  
 hen 3NOM buy many  
 (S)he bought several hens.
- e. *a2-n vaai2 in1 a-n chuak3*  
 3PRO-PL all OBLQ 3NOM-PL exit  
 They all left.
- f. *a-n chuak3 vek1*  
 3NOM-PL exit all  
 They all left.

Thus, from the above it appears as though the quantifiers in both the noun phrase and the verb phrase have similar meanings. However, there are fewer types of quantifiers in the verb phrase. The postverbal quantifiers also seem to express degree, besides quantity. They are used mostly for uncountable items whereas the quantifiers in the noun phrase are usually countable.

Compare the following examples:

- (142) a. *voi3 tam2 tak mil vuaa*  
 times many INT 1ACC beat  
 (S)he beat me several times.
- b. *mil vo rhep1*  
 1ACC beat severely  
 (S)he gave me a severe beating.

#### 2.6.3.4 Intensifiers

Intensifiers generally follow a general quantifier or an adjective, as in:

- (143) a. *pang-paar1 tam2 tak ka lei2*  
 flower many INT 1NOM buy  
 I bought many flowers.
- b. *pang-paar1 mooi1 tak ka1 mhuu*  
 flower pretty INT 1NOM see  
 I saw a very beautiful flower.
- c. *pang-paar1 mooi1 em3 em3 ka1 mhuu*  
 flower pretty INT 1NOM see  
 I saw a very, very beautiful flower.



- d. *pang-paar1 mooi1 lu1-tuk ka1 mhuu*  
 flower pretty INT 1NOM see  
 I saw a gorgeous flower.

Intensifiers, when they modify the verb, are postverbal (like the VP quantifying particles). Thus we can have:

- (144) a. *coo3 ka ei1 nhem3 lu1-tuk*  
 rice 1NOM eat much INT  
 I ate too much (rice).  
 b. *a1 trap na1-sa1 lu1-tuk*  
 3NOM cry very much INT  
 (S)he cried too much.  
 c. *coo3 ka ei1 nghek1*  
 food 1NOM eat INT  
 I ate a lot/had a huge meal.

### 2.6.3.5 Non-final and final particles

The non-final particle is *aa1*, and the final particles are *e1* for declaratives and *vee* for exclamations, cf. 64.

- (145) a. *coo3 ka ei aa1 ka muu*  
 food 1NOM eat NFP 1NOM sleep  
 I ate and then I slept.  
 b. *coo3 ka ei1 e1*  
 food 1NOM eat DECL  
 (I declare) I am eating.  
 c. *coo3 i-n va ei1 mhaa1 vee*  
 food 2NOM-PL how eat early EXCL  
 You are dining so early!

## 2.7 Conclusion

This section has provided a brief glance at the basic syntactic structure of Mizo. Being an SOV language, the NPs precede the VP with the indirect object preceding the direct object. The internal structure of the phrases is not always consistent with those of typical SOV languages. Thus, quantifiers and qualifiers follow the head. Each phrase is made up of words, clitics, particles and affixes, some of which are more important than others. The general principle of organisation is left-branching with some important exceptions. Each NP has a case marker and each VP a pronoun clitic.

Some of the important features of the language, such as ergativity and questions, will be discussed in the following section.

### 3. Simple sentences

This section will deal with simple sentences as well as the various forms of questions and imperatives. These examples will be an expanded form of what has already been mentioned in the preceding section. Grammatical roles and agreements will also be discussed in this section. Thus, this section will give the reader a view of what Mizo sentences really look like and how they relate to the larger context of speech acts and syntactic constraints. As in the previous section, most of the terminology used in describing the various sentences is from Givón (1984).

#### 3.1 Grammatical roles and relations

The grammatical roles and relations are clearly marked both in the noun phrase and the verb phrase. It is interesting to note that the noun phrase displays an ergative system while the verb phrase displays a nominative-accusative system.

##### 3.1.1 Ergativity

As a comparison of transitive and intransitive clauses show the direct object in the transitive requires the same case marking as that in the intransitive, e.g.

- (1) a. *boong3*  $\emptyset$  *a* *thii1*  
           cow   ABS 3NOM die  
           A cow has died.
- b. *boong3 in nhim3*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *pet*  
      cow   ERG grass   ABS 3NOM graze  
      A cow is grazing (eating grass).

The ergative case marker comes at the end of the subject NP in the transitive clause, as shown:

- (2) a. *boong3 le? keel in nhim3*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *pet*  
      cow   and goat ERG grass   ABS 3NOM-PL graze  
      A cow and goat are grazing.
- b. *ka1 boong3 zong-zong1 in nhim3*  $\emptyset$  *a2-n* *pet*  
      1P cow   all           ERG grass   ABS 3NOM-PL graze  
      All my cows are grazing.

As mentioned before (section 2.6.2.2 and 2.6.2.3), the ergative marker and the instrument/oblique marker are phonologically similar, as is widely the case in ergative languages, the only difference between them being their tone. Often this subtle difference in tone causes dramatic changes of interpretation, that is, the agent in one becomes the patient in the other. When there are two full NPs with case markers, it is easier to see the role of the pronoun clitic.

- (3) a. *lal1 in*  
 $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$  *hriau1 in1 a1-chun*  
 |-----|  
 ERG ABS needle OBLQ 3NOM-pierced  
 The chief/someone pierced someone/something with a needle.
- b. *lal1*  $\emptyset$   
 $\emptyset$  *hriau1 in* *a1-chun*  
 |-----|  
 ABS needle ERG 3NOM-pierced  
 The needle pierced the chief/someone.

The following are some examples to show the importance of this tone difference.

- (4) a. *rhiau1 in1 a1 chun*  
 needle OBLQ 3NOM pierced  
 (S)he pierced (it) with a needle.
- b. *rhiau1 in*  $\emptyset$  *a1 chun*  
 needle ERG ABS 3NOM pierced  
 A needle pierced him/her.
- c. *tui1 in1 a1 lei?-hu?*  
 water OBLQ 3NOM pour-wet  
 (S)he poured/wet it with water.
- d. *tui1 in*  $\emptyset$  *a1 lei?-hu?*  
 water ERG ABS 3NOM pour-wet  
 (S)he got soaked (by water).
- e. *a1 kee in1 a daal1*  
 3P leg OBLQ 3NOM block  
 (S)he blocked it with her/his leg.
- f. *a1 kee in*  $\emptyset$  *a daal2*  
 3P leg ERG ABS 3NOM block  
 Her/his leg blocked (it).

### 3.1.2 Subject clitic agreement with NP

The subject markers generally agree in number with the subject. There are, however, some exceptions as shown below.

Non-human mass nouns are generally singular, as in:

- (5) a. *ka puan2-phou a1 tlaa*  
 1P cloth -to sunII 3NOM fall  
 My laundry has fallen (to the ground).

- b. *i2-n huan a1 pang-paar1 a mooil*  
 2P-PL garden LOC-REL flower 3NOM pretty  
 The flowers in your garden are beautiful.
- c. *i-n ran1-vul? a1 tthaa*  
 2P-PL animals-raise 3NOM good  
 Your (domestic) animals are in good health.

Animate subjects with the quantifier *tin* meaning 'each and all', or *a1 piang1* meaning 'whoever/whichever', require plural agreement with the subject clitic. Thus:

- (6) a. *nulaa1 tin in thing2 ø a-n phur1*  
 maiden each ERG wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry  
 Each maiden is carrying firewood.
- b. *nulaa1 a1-piang1 in thing2 ø a-n phur1*  
 maiden whoever ERG wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry  
 Whoever was a maiden carried firewood.
- c. *a1 thei a1-piang1 a-n kal1*  
 3NOM can whoever 3NOM-PL go  
 Whoever could go went.
- d. *ui2 tin in aar1 a-n uum3*  
 dog each ERG hen 3NOM-PL chase  
 Each dog chased a chicken.

Non-humans, however, require singular agreement with the subject clitic. Compare example 6 above with those below:

- (7) a. *pang-paar1 tin a1 ttaa*  
 flower each 3NOM fall  
 Each of the flowers fell.
- b. *ar1-tuil tin a1 keh*  
 egg each 3NOM break  
 Each of the eggs broke.

When there is more than one subject, then the person of the subject pronoun is determined by the following hierarchy: first person outranks second person which outranks third person. Thus, if all three are in the subject NP, then the subject clitic is determined by the first person, as in:

- (8) *kei2 le? nang2 le? a1-nii3 ka-n kal1 ang2*  
 1PRO and 2PRO and 3PRO-PL 1NOM-PL go MOD  
 (S)he, you and I will go.

If there is only first person with either one, then first person outranks the others, as in:

- (9) a. *kei2 le? nang2 ka-n kal1 ang2*  
 1PRO and 2PRO 1NOM-PL go MO  
 You and I will go.

- b. *kei2 le? a1-nii3 ka-n kal1 ang2*  
 1PRO and 3PRO-PL 3NOM-PL go MOD  
 (S)he and I will go.

If there is only second and third person, then the subject agreement is with the second person, as in:

- (10) *nang2 le? a1-nii i-n kal1 ang2*  
 2PRO and 3PRO-PL 2NOM-PL go MOD  
 You and (s)he will go.

Objects are also ranked similarly. In this case, the accusative markers indicate agreement, as in:

- (11) a. *ui1 in kei2 le? nang2 le? a1-nii3 mi1 uum3*  
 dog ERG 1PRO and 2PRO and 3PRO-PL 1ACC chase  
 A dog is chasing you, him/her and I.
- b. *ui1 in nang2 le? a1-nii3 a1 uum3 ce1 u1*  
 dog ERG you and 3PRO-PL 3NOM chase 2ACC PL  
 A dog is chasing you and him/her.

The above agreement rules are true for all clause types except hortatives, in which case one finds the second person marking in both nominative and accusative forms, i.e. *i*, and *uu1*:

- (12) *i kal1 ang uu1*  
 2NOM go MOD HORT  
 Let us go!

The second person object marker, *i* may be a dual inclusive as in Thadou, cf. Krishan (1980).

### 3.1.3 Word order

Mizo is a fairly rigid SOV language. In the previous section we have seen the internal structure of the phrases: attributes follow the head noun (see section 2.3.4 and 2.3.5); case markers follow the head noun (see sections 2.6.2.2 and 2.6.2.3); genitival-of constructions precede the head noun (sections 2.3.3 and 2.6.1.3). Moreover, as we will see in section 4, relative clauses precede the main clause.

At the sentence level, the normal order is SOV.

- (13) *nau1-pang1 in sa-zuu3 ø a man1*  
 child ERG rat ABS 3NOM catch  
 The child caught a rat.

Permutation is allowed when there is a change in focus. Thus, if the object is in focus, the word order is OSV.

- (14) *sa-zuu3 ø nau1-pang1 in a man1*  
 rat ABS child ERG 3NOM catch  
 The child caught a rat (not a cat).

If the event is in focus, then the word order is OVS.

- (15) *sa-zuu 3    ∅    a    man 1    nau 1-pang 1    in*  
 rat            ABS 3NOM catch          child            ERG  
 The child *caught* a rat!

Example 15 is rather awkward as it sounds like two incomplete sentences. If there is more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object.

- (16) *pil-tar1    in    nau1-pang2 ip    ∅    a1    pæ*  
 old-woman ERG child          bag ABS 3NOM give  
 The old woman gave the child a bag.

Locatives usually come between the subject and the object, as in:

- (17) *nau1-pang1 in    poon1 a?    ui    ∅    a1    uum3*  
 child            ERG outside LOC dog ABS 3NOM chase  
 A child is chasing a dog outside.

It is also possible to have both instrument and locative

- (18) *nau1-pang1 in    poon1 a?    tiang in1    ui    ∅    a1    vuaa*  
 child            ERG outside LOC stick OBLQ dog ABS 3NOM hit  
 A child is hitting a dog with a stick outside.

Furthermore, one can also get an adverbial NP preceding the nominative clitic marker, so that a maximally modified sentence would look like.

- (19) *nau1-pang1 in    poon1 a?    tiang in1    ui    ∅    na    deu? in1    a1    vuaa*  
 child            ERG outside LOC stick OBLQ dog ABS hard INT OBLQ 3NOM hit  
 A child is beating a dog with great force outside.

### 3.2 Verbal sentences

Verbs with a single argument (objectless verbs) become the subject/topic in a simple sentence. Such verbs may denote either temporary or permanent states of the subject/object. Various semantic case roles occur for NPs in verbal sentences. Verbal sentences in which the subject is patient-of-state are:

- (20) a. *keel a    thii1*  
 goat 3NOM dead  
 A goat is dead.  
 b. *cem1 a    rhiaam1*  
 knife 3NOM sharp  
 The knife is sharp.

- c. *nou1 a1 ke?*  
cup 3NOM broken  
The cup is broken.

The subject can also be dative-of-state

- (21) a. *Zou1-a a dam1-lou*  
-MSUF 3NOM well-NEG  
Zova is sick.

- b. *pil-tar1 a lhim1*  
woman-old 3NOM happy  
The old woman is happy.

Sentences where the subject is patient-of-change are:

- (22) a. *in a1 c̄m*  
house 3NOM collapse  
The house collapsed.
- b. *tlhaai a1 troi?*  
vegetables 3NOM rotten  
The vegetables have rotted.
- c. *ar1-tui1 a1 keu3*  
egg 3NOM hatch  
The egg hatched.

Sometimes the change in the object is brought about by an external agent or an instrument, as in:

- (23) a. *tiang in1 nou1 ka1 vo-ke?*  
stick OBLQ cup 1NOM hit-break  
I (hit) broke the cup with a stick.
- b. *co-mhe? ka1 chuum-mhin1*  
food-side 1NOM cook-cooked  
I (completed) cooked the side dishes.

In sentences with both the subject and object, the subject can be dative-of-state, as in:

- (24) a. *il paa3 ka rhiaa2*  
2P father 1NOM know  
I know your father.
- b. *kong1-kaa1 ka hong1 thiam2*  
door 1NOM open know  
I know how to open the door.
- c. *phuong3-pui-nuu3 ka lhau2*  
1NOM fear  
I'm afraid of Phungpuinu (an evil witch).

Other verbs are subject-of-change, as in:

- (25) a. *lhaa2 ka-n zir1*  
 song 1NOM-PL learn  
 We are learning a song.
- b. *caang1 a vong2*  
 verse 3NOM memorise  
 (S)he is memorising verses.

Still others are object-of-change verbs, as in:

- (26) a. *Maam1-i1 ka1 ti?-tthai?*  
 -FSUF 1NOM frighten  
 I frightened Mami.
- b. *Rual1-a ka1 ti-thin-rim3*  
 -MSUF 1NOM make-angry  
 I made Ruala angry.
- c. *nau1-pang2 ka1 zir-tiir1*  
 children 1NOM learnII-make  
 I'm teaching the children.

Sometimes the objects of sentences coding a physical change do not directly impact the dative object, as in:

- (27) a. *nau1-pang2 le?-kha-buu3 ka1 pæ*  
 child book 1NOM give  
 I gave a book to the child.
- b. *zual-kou1 ka-n tiir1*  
 messenger 1NOM-PL send  
 We sent a messenger.
- c. *le?-khaa3 ka-n thou3*  
 letter 3NOM-PL send  
 We sent a letter.

### 3.2.1 Obligatoriness of subjects

The Mizo subject is obligatory in VPs for all clause types, except non-first person subjects with a first person object and imperatives. From the examples in the previous section, one can see that the subject is coded the same, whether it is (semantically) an agent or a patient. Moreover, the subject pronoun clitics are the same for both transitive and intransitive clauses.

The subject NP is obligatory for certain verbs. For instance, meteorological verbs cannot have a dummy subject like 'it', as in English.



- (28) a. *niil a saa1*  
 sun 3NOM shining  
 The sun is shining.
- b. *tlhii1 a thoo2*  
 wind 3NOM blowing  
 The wind is blowing.
- c. *khua1 a1 voot3*  
 place 3NOM cold  
 The weather is cold.

Emotive verbs also require a subject, as in:

- (29) a. *ka lung1 a leeng1*  
 1P heart 3NOM gone away  
 My heart is lonesome.
- b. *ka luu1 a hai1*  
 1P head 3NOM dizzy  
 My head is dizzy.
- c. *ka khua1 a1 sik*  
 1P place 3NOM fever  
 My disposition is feverish.
- d. *ka1 tra? a1 chuak3*  
 1P cryII 3NOM leave  
 My tears are coming out.

### 3.2.2 Sentences with obligatory objects

In transitive sentences, the subject must be represented by the obligatory pronoun clitic in the VP but the full NPs are often omitted, see example 33. Some sentences require an object. These are usually change-of-state verbs where the object either causes the change or is affected by the change. The object can be animate or inanimate. Thus, consider:

- (30) a. *ui a1 vo-lhum*  
 dog 3NOM beat-dead  
 (S)he beat a dog to death.
- b. *cem1 a1 taat3-rhiaam1*  
 knife 3NOM sharpen-sharp  
 (S)he sharpened the knife.
- c. *tui1 a? a1 tla-lhum*  
 water LOC 3NOM fall-dead  
 (S)he fell in the water and died (drowned).

- d. *milem a1 thai2-chiaa*  
 picture 3NOM scratch-bad  
 (S)he scratched out the picture.

### 3.2.3 Adjectival sentences

Objectless sentences are stative verbs, as in:

- (31) a. *a ngou1*  
 3NOM fair  
 (S)he is fair (complexion).  
 b. *a thaau1*  
 2NOM fat  
 (S)he is fat.  
 c. *a ngui2*  
 3NOM sad  
 (S)he is sad/despondent.  
 d. *a rhiaam1*  
 3NOM sharp  
 It is sharp.

### 3.2.4 Copula sentences

The copula verb *nii* can be used with NPs, as in:

- (32) a. *mi-sual a1 nii*  
 person-bad 3NOM be  
 (S)he is evil.  
 b. *nou1-thar1 a1 nii*  
 cup-new 3NOM be  
 It is a new cup.  
 c. *zaan a1 nii*  
 night 3NOM be  
 It is night time.

### 3.2.5 Transitive sentences

Transitive verbs are characterised by the ergative marker *in* on the agent NP and an absolutive marker  $\emptyset$  on the patient NP. Moreover, the nominative and accusative pronoun clitics are found in the VP. Since the NP is optional in most cases it will be shown in parentheses to show that its omission is possible.

- (33) a. (*kei1 in*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *ka* *phur1*  
 (1PRO ERG) wood ABS 1NOM carry  
 I'm carrying firewood.
- b. (*nang1 in*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *i* *phur1*  
 (2PRO ERG) wood ABS 2NOM carry  
 You are carrying firewood.
- c. (*a1 nii3 in*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *a* *phur1*  
 (3PRO-PL ERG) wood ABS 3NOM carry  
 (S)he is carrying firewood.
- d. (*Zou1 in3*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *a* *phur1*  
 ( -FSUF ERG) wood ABS 3NOM carry  
 Zovi is carrying firewood.
- e. (*Zou1-i1 le? kei1 in*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *ka-n* *phur1*  
 ( -FSUF and 1PRO ERG) wood ABS 1NOM-PL carry  
 Zovi and I are carrying firewood.
- f. (*Zou1-i1 le? nang1 in*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *i-n* *phur1*  
 ( -FSUF and 2PRO ERG) wood ABS 2NOM-PL carry  
 You and Zovi are carrying firewood.
- g. (*Zou1-i1 le? Moi1 in3*) *thing2*  $\emptyset$  *a-n* *phur1*  
 ( -FSUF and -FSUF ERG) wood ABS 3NOM-PL carry  
 Zovi and Mawii are carrying firewood.

Transitive verbs can also have an instrumental NP, as in:

- (34) a. *nau1-seen1*  $\emptyset$  *puan in1* *ka* *tuam2*  
 baby ABS cloth OBLQ 1NOM wrap  
 I wrapped the baby with a blanket.
- b. *pu1-tar1 in* *tiang in1* *nau1-pang*  $\emptyset$  *a1* *vuaa*  
 old man ERG stick OBLQ child ABS 3NOM beat  
 The old man beat the child with a stick.

### 3.2.6 Sentences with instrumental NP's

Instrumental NPs are formally very similar to ergative NPs since the morphological markings are similar. The instrumental marker *in1* functions to mark the instrument and manner adverbs, e.g.

- (35) a. *tiang in1* *ka1* *vuaa*  
 stick OBLQ 1NOM hit  
 I hit (it) with a stick.

- b. *tiang2 lian-pui1 in1 ka1 vuaa*  
stick big-very OBLQ 1NOM hit  
I hit it with a big stick.
- c. *tiang in1 i1 vuaa*  
stick OBLQ 2NOM hit  
You hit (it) with a stick.
- d. *tiang in1 a1 vuaa*  
stick OBLQ 3NOM hit  
(S)he hit (it) with a stick.
- e. *tiang in1 mi1 vuaa*  
stick OBLQ 1ACC hit  
(Someone) hit me with a stick.
- f. *tiang in1 a1 vuaa ce1*  
stick OBLQ 3NOM hit 2ACC  
(Someone) hit you with a stick.

Note that the oblique marker can occur in both transitive and intransitive sentences. In transitive clauses the instrument is usually something concrete whereas intransitive instruments are generally abstract, as in:

- (36) *lung1-ngai?-na1 in1 a1 khat*  
sad-NLZ OBLQ 3NOM full  
(S)he was full of sadness.

### 3.2.7 Sentences with locative NPs

Intransitive sentences often have locative NPs, as in:

- (37) a. *in-chuung1 a? a1 luut3*  
house inside LOC 3NOM enter  
(S)he went inside the house.
- b. *sa-kor2 cung1 a? a cuaang1*  
horse top LOC 3NOM ride  
(S)he rode on a horse.
- c. *Ai1-zool1 a? a-n peem1*  
LOC 3NOM-PL move to  
They moved to Aizawl.

Locatives can also occur in transitive sentences, as in:

- (38) a. *do?-kaan cung1 a? nou1 ø a huung1*  
table top LOC cup ABS 3NOM place  
(S)he set the cup on the table.

- b. *sum2 - mhun a? puan ø a1 ta?*  
 mortar-place LOC cloth ABS 3NOM place  
 She is weaving on the porch
- c. *in-cung1 a? puan2 ø a phou1*  
 house-top LOC clothes ABS 3NON to sun  
 (S)he is drying the laundry on the roof.
- d. *poon1 a? bu? ø a-n deeng1*  
 outside LOC rice ABS 3NOM-PL pound  
 They are pounding rice outside.

### 3.2.8 Sentences with three NPs

The following are examples of verbs with three NPs: subject, object and indirect object.

- (39) a. *Zou1 in3 ip mi1 pee*  
 -FSUF ERG bag 1ACC give  
 Zovi gave me/us a bag.
- b. *Zou1-i1 le? Dou1-an3 ip mi1 pee*  
 -FSUF and -MSUF ERG bag 1ACC give  
 Zovi and Dova gave me/us a bag.
- c. *Zou1 in3 ip a1 pee ce1*  
 -FSUF ERG bag 3NOM give 2ACC  
 Zovi gave you a bag.
- d. *Dou1-a le? Zou1-in3 ip a2-n pee ce1*  
 -MSUF and -FSUF ERG bag 3NOM-PL give 2ACC  
 Dova and Zovi gave you a bag.
- e. *Zou1 in3 ip a1 pee ce1 u1*  
 -FSUF ERG bag 3NOM give 2ACC PL  
 Zovi gave you all a bag.
- f. *Zou1-i1 le? Dou1-an3 ip a2-n pee ce1 u1*  
 -FSUF and -MSUF ERG bag 3NOM-PL give 2ACC PL  
 Zovi and Dova gave you (pl) a bag.
- g. *Dou1-an3 Zou1-i1 ø ip a1 pee*  
 -MSUF ERG -FSUF ABS bag 3NOM give  
 Dova gave Zovi a bag.
- h. *Dou1-an3 ip a1 pee*  
 -MSUF ERG bag 3NOM give  
 Dova gave someone a bag.

- i. *Dou1-a leʔ Zou1-in3 Rin3-i ø ip a2-n pee*  
 -MSUF and -FSUF ERG -FSUF ABS bag 3NOM-PL give  
 Dova and Zovi gave Rini a bag.

### 3.3 Comparison

Comparisons can be made either by comparing two items, or the standard of comparison need not be mentioned. Comparatives and superlatives are the most common forms of comparison. These can occur both with the full NP or with just the determiners, as shown in the following sections.

#### 3.3.1 Comparatives

In Mizo, comparisons are made by adding *aai1 in1* to the object being compared and *zook3* to the standard of comparison.

- (40) a. *ka2-n in aii1 in1 i2-n in a1 lian zook3*  
 1P-PL house than OBLQ 2P-PL house 3NOM big more  
 Your house is bigger than our house.
- b. *i2-n in a1 lian zook3*  
 2P-PL house 3NOM big more  
 Your house is bigger.
- c. *hei3 aii1 hian1 soo3 so1 a1 tha zook3*  
 this than DET-OBLQ that DET 3NOM good more  
 This here is better than that there.
- d. *hei3 hi1 a1 tha zook3*  
 this DET 3NOM good more  
 This one is better.

#### 3.3.2 Superlatives

The construction of superlatives is similar to that of comparatives. The only difference is that the object of comparison is extended to include a whole class of something related to it. This is generally done by adding *zong zong3* meaning 'all, the whole set' or *zong zong3 ziing1 aʔ* meaning 'amongst all'.

- (41) a. *hee nuu3 hi1 nuu3 zong zong3 aii1 in1 a saang1 ber*  
 DPRO woman DET woman all than OBLQ 3NOM tall most  
 This woman is the tallest of all (other) women.
- b. *hee nuu3 hi1 nuu3 zong zong3 aii1 in1 a saang1*  
 this woman DET woman all than OBLQ 3NOM tall  
 This woman is taller than all the other women.

- c. *nuu3 zong zong3 ziiŋ1 aʔ hee nuu3 hi1 a saang1*  
 woman all among LOC this woman DET3NOM tall most  
 This woman is the tallest among all other women.
- d. *hee nuu3 hi1 a saang1 ber*  
 this woman DET 3NOM tall most  
 This woman is the tallest.

### 3.4 Questions

There are two types of questions in Mizo: wh-question and yes-no questions. These two types of questions have two different constructions. Wh-questions are marked in the NP while yes-no questions are marked in the VP. Furthermore, wh-questions have both a wh word and a question word. Both types of questions can be modified to fit the situation. Thus, one can have alternative questions where the speaker offers an alternative to which the hearer must respond. Then there are questions to confirm what has just been said or to clarify a point. These types of questions are rhetorical because the speaker already knows the answer but asks a question to let the hearer know that his or her statement has been understood. Lastly, there are some questions that can be stated only in the negative.

#### 3.4.1 Wh-questions

The wh-question consists of a question word *ngee3* and a wh word such as *tuu*, for humans, *eng*, for non-humans and *khoi3* for deictic questions. There are several variations of wh-questions. The basic form consists of the wh word followed by the question word. Of these, *eng* can be modified for questions involving time, reason or purpose, see 45c, d. The deictic wh word *khoi3* can also be used for questions involving spatial location and spatial direction.

Wh-questions are further classified according to whether or not the subject is known. If the subject is unknown but the object is known, then the question takes the regular class of verbs. Moreover, nominative markers are absent in this type of wh-question. Therefore, questioned subject and object will be differentiated not only in the NPs but also in the choice of verb stem. Wh-questions with Stem I verbs are shown in the next three examples. All wh-questions have the same construction, the only difference being in the choice of the wh word. Questions involving humans are stated thus:

- (42) a. *tu ngee3 chuak3*  
 WH Q leave  
 Who left?
- b. *tuu in ngee3 mi1 kou*  
 WH ERG Q 1ACC call  
 Who is calling me?

- c. *tuu in ngee3 hau1 ce1*  
 WH ERG Q scold 2ACC  
 Who scolded you?

Questions about non-humans have a different *wh* word but are similar in all other respects.

- (43) a. *eng ngee3 taa*  
 WH Q fall  
 What fell?
- b. *eng in ngee3 mi daal2*  
 WH ERG Q 1ACC block  
 What is blocking/hindering me?
- c. *eng in ngee3 daal ce1*  
 WH ERG Q block 2ACC  
 What is blocking/hindering you?

Deictic questions are similar to the other *wh*-questions.

- (44) a. *khoi3 in ngee3 cim*  
 WH house Q collapse  
 Which house collapsed?
- b. *khoi3 puan ngee3 kaang*  
 WH cloth Q burn  
 Which cloth burned?
- c. *khoi3 laai1 ngee3 naa1*  
 WH about Q hurt  
 Whereabouts does it hurt?

Stem II verbs are used in these types of questions:

- (45) a. *tu ngee3 i1 tha?*  
 WH Q 2NOM killII  
 Whom did you kill?
- b. *eng ngee3 i1 ti?*  
 WH Q 2NOM doII  
 What are you doing?
- c. *eng a? ngee3 i1 ti?*  
 WH LOC Q 2NOM doII  
 Why did you do it? / For what do you want it?
- d. *eng tik a? ngee3 i1 zo? doon1*  
 WH time LOC Q 2NOM finishII ASP  
 When are you going to finish it?



- e. *khoi3 aʔ ngee3 i1 kal doon1*  
 WH LOC Q 2NOM goII ASP  
 Where are you going?
- f. *khoi3 hi1 ngee3 ka2-n ɛ̃ ang2*  
 WH DET Q 2NOM-PL eatII MOD  
 Which one(s) shall we eat?

A question can be made more specific by including a noun or any of its modifiers such as the ergative marker, oblique marker and the locative marker. Thus, the *wh*-question word basically replaces the head noun in the NP. In genitival-of constructions, the *wh* word is relativised as shown by the change in tone from low tone to high tone, see section 2.6.1.3. The above can be expanded further, thus:

- (46) a. *tuu1 vok ngee3 i1 lei*  
 WH-REL pig Q 2NOM buyII  
 Whose pig did you buy?
- b. *eng a1-taan1 ngee3 i1 tiʔ*  
 WH purpose Q 2NOM doII  
 For what purpose do you want it?
- c. *eng vaang in1 ngee3 i lou2-kal*  
 WH reason OBLQ Q 2NOM comeII  
 For what reason did you come?
- d. *eng cen3 ngee3 i1 caam doon1*  
 WH length Q 2NOM stayII ASP  
 How long are you staying?
- e. *khoi3 laai1 aʔ ngee3 a1 tlaak3*  
 WH around LOC Q 3NOM fallII  
 Whereabouts did (s)he fall?
- f. *khoi3 vok hi1 ngee3 i1 duʔ*  
 WH pig DET Q 2NOM wantII  
 Which one of these pigs do you want?
- g. *hei3 hi1 tuu1 ui ngee3 mi*  
 DPRO DET WH-REL dog Q be  
 Whose dog is this dog here?
- h. *tuu1 nheen aʔ ngee3 i1 am*  
 WH-REL with LOC Q 2NOM liveII  
 Who are you living/staying with?

### 3.4.2 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are simpler than the wh-questions. This type of question requires only one question marker *em2* at the end of the sentence, with the verb taking the stem appropriate for its clause type. Thus, for example:

- (47) a. *i dam1 em2*  
 2NOM well Q  
 Are you well? (traditional greeting)
- b. *i2-n lou-kal1 doon1 em2*  
 2NOM-PL come ASP Q  
 Are you planning to come?
- c. *vak i2-n vul? doon1 em2*  
 pig 2NOM-PL raise ASP Q  
 Are you going to raise pigs?
- d. *coo3 i-n ei1 ang1 em2*  
 food 2NOM-PL eat MOD Q  
 Will you be eating?

### 3.4.3 Alternative questions

Wh-questions take the prefix *a1-* when the question is about one particular item out of a larger set, cf. example 118 in section 2.6.1.3.

- (48) a. *a1-tuu te1 ngee3 lou-kal1*  
 of-WH EX Q come  
 Who all came (out of those we invited)?
- b. *a1-eng te1 ngee3 i1 lei*  
 of-WH EX Q 2NOM buyII  
 Which ones/what all did you buy?
- c. *a1-eng khu1 ngee3 ka-n peek3 ang2*  
 of-WH DET Q 1NOM-PL giveII MOD  
 Which of the things down there should we give?

The above types can sometimes be ambiguous. For instance, example 48b can also mean ‘Which of these did you buy for him/her?’.

### 3.4.4 Echo questions

The simplest form of echo question is an unmodified wh-question, following a statement. The question ‘who?’ or ‘what?’ is inserted mainly for the speaker's benefit. This type of question uses *moo2* instead of *ngee3*.

- (49) a. *a eiʔ2 lou. tuu moo2*  
 3NOM answer NEG who. Q  
 He did not answer. Who (didn't answer)?
- b. *a2-n vok a bou1. tuu*  
 3P-PL pig 3NOM lost. who  
 Their pig is lost. Whose (pig is lost)?
- c. *a ui1 a-n zong1. tuu1 ui2*  
 3P dog 3NOM-PL search. WH-REL dog  
 They are looking for his dog. Whose dog (....) ?

With yes-no echo questions, the speaker must repeat part of the question in the answer, as in:

- (50) a. *i2-n zin doon1 em2*  
 2NOM-PL travel ASP Q  
 Are you going on a trip?
- b. *kei-nii3 moo3. doon1 lou ang2*  
 1PRO-PL Q . ASP NEG MOD  
 Us? We won't (be going on a trip).

### 3.4.5 Requests

Requests are similar to questions except that they have no morphological markings of other question forms. The question is indicated by intonation and by the word *oo3* which means 'yes'.

- (51) a. *ka kal1 ang oo3*  
 1NOM go MOD yes  
 Can I go, (yes)?
- b. *ka ei1 ang oo3*  
 1NOM eat MOD yes  
 Can I eat this (yes)?

The above forms are frequently used by children when requesting permission for something they are normally allowed to do.

### 3.4.6 Alternative questions

Questions can be stated so that the expected answer has to be either in the affirmative or negative. To indicate that a positive reply is expected, a form of the verb 'to be' *nii* after the yes-no question marker *em2* is used. Another common tag is *ei1-lou* which means something like 'Is it really?'. Unlike English there is no reversal of polarity; the tag is basically on the question marker itself.

- (52) a. *co-ai i1 bua3-sai? em2 nii*  
 food 2NOM prepare Q be  
 You are preparing food (supper), aren't you?
- b. *rua? a suu1 e1-lou*  
 rain 3NOM rains Q  
 Is it raining, really?

Questions can also be stated so that the answer has to be in the negative, as in:

- (53) a. *ka kor2 i la1 thui1 lou em2 nii*  
 1P dress 2NOM yet sew NEG Q be  
 You have not sewn my dress yet, have you?
- b. *hei3 hi1 i1 du? lou em2 nii*  
 this DET 2NOM want NEG Q be  
 You don't want this, do you?

Sometimes *lou em2 nii* is shortened to *loom2 nii* so that one has:

- (54) *ka2-n in-mhu to? a1 ni loom2 nii*  
 1NOM-PL meet already 3NOM be NEG-Q be  
 We have met already, haven't we?

The wh-question has a special negation form *na-ngee3* which is sometimes used in place of the negated yes-no question. Thus, we can have.

- (55) *i la1 thou2 na-ngee3*  
 2NOM yet arise NEG-Q  
 You still have not got up, have you?

instead of

- (56) *i la1 thou2 lou em2 nii*  
 2NOM yet arise NEG Q be  
 You still have not got up, have you?

Sometimes the speaker will assume that the other person does not want to do something, in which case the yes-no question word is replaced by *e1-mo*, which means something like 'perhaps'.

- (57) a. *min biak3 i1 caak3 e1-mo*  
 1ACC speakII 2NOM desire perhaps  
 Perhaps you (don't) desire to speak to me.
- b. *zin i1 du? e1-mo*  
 travelII 2NOM desire perhaps  
 Perhaps you'd like to go on a trip.

### 3.5 Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives, one I call *standard imperative* since this is the normal form; and the other I call *familiar imperative* since it is used more among close friends and family. The two have been called ‘strong imperative’ and ‘polite/weak imperative’ but I will show that this is not the case since the politeness or impoliteness of a request is indicated by the tone of voice. The appropriateness of the request within the social context also determines if an imperative will be considered polite or impolite.

#### 3.5.1 Standard imperative

The standard imperative is the one used more often. In its simplest form, an imperative consists of the verb followed by the imperative marker *ro?*, as in

- (58) a. *trhu1 ro?*  
sit IMP  
Sit down!
- b. *lou-kal1 ro?*  
come IMP  
Come here!
- c. *muang1 tɛ in1 kal1 ro?*  
slowly very OBLQ go IMP  
Go slowly!
- d. *kha1 ta? kha-an1 trhu1 ro?*  
DPRO LOC DET-OBLQ sit IMP  
Sit over there!

The plural form is the same as the plural for the second person accusative, thus:

- (59) *lou leeng1 ro? uu1*  
hither visit IMP PL  
You all come and visit us!

#### 3.5.2 Familiar imperative

The other imperative *te?* is used in a similar manner:

- (60) a. *trhu1 tɛ?*  
sit IMP  
Sit!
- b. *lou-kal1 tɛ?*  
come IMP  
Come here!

The plural form is the same as the other imperative, thus:

- (61) *trhu1 tɛʔ uu1*  
       sit IMP PL  
       You all sit!

The standard imperative is certainly not less polite than the familiar because one is expected to say example 58a to a guest who has just entered the house. On the other hand, one would say example 60a to a child who is misbehaving. Thus, the politeness or impoliteness of an imperative depends entirely on the context. The second form does not carry as much force as the first one and is usually used among close friends and relatives. For instance, children use it when they are trying to get the attention of their parents or relatives; mothers use it when they are annoyed with their children. An imperative can be softened by using the plural form but even this is not necessarily more polite.

### 3.5.3 Weak imperatives

Weak imperatives sound more like a direct statement to a person. This form is used to encourage or goad a person. The weak imperative is indicated by *ta cee3* which roughly means 'I say to you'.

- (62) *kal1 ta cee3*  
       go IMP  
       Go (why don't you)!

The negative weak imperative is indicated by *ma-ta cee3*.

- (63) *kal1 ma-ta cee3*  
       go NEG-IMP  
       Don't (bother to) go!

Another form of request is stated with the future-irrealis mode markers. Thus we get:

- (64) a. *lou leeng1 ang ce1*  
       hither visit MOD you  
       Come and visit us!
- b. *i2-n lou leeng1 doon1 niaa1*  
       2NOM-PL hither visit ASP be-FP  
       You will have to visit us some day.

### 3.6 Optatives

Optatives are indicated by adding *se1* after any one of the imperatives mentioned above. Thus one gets:

- (65) a. *trhu1 ro? se1*  
           sit IMP OPT  
           Let him sit!
- b. *thi ro? se1*  
           die IMP OPT  
           Let him die!
- c. *mu1 te? se1*  
           sleep IMP OPT  
           Let him sleep (it's about time)!

### 3.7 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are the same for both negative standard imperative and negative optatives. Prohibition is indicated by using *su?* in place of the standard imperative form.

- (66) a. *kal1 su?*  
           go PROHIB  
           Don't go!
- b. *kal1 su? se1*  
           go PROHIB OPT  
           (S)he should not go / Don't let him (her) go!

For the negative familiar imperative *su?* is simply added after the imperative, as in:

- (67) *kal1 te? su?*  
       go IMP PROHIB  
       Don't you go!

### 3.8 Hortatives

Hortatives can be stated in any of the following ways; all contain the irrealis marker *ang2*, as in 64a. This may be followed by a hortative as in 68a and 68b; preceded by the familiar imperative as in 68c; followed by an adverb as in 68b; or alone, as in 68e.

- (68) a. *i kal1 ang uu1*  
           us go MOD PL  
           Let us go!
- b. *i ti lou mai1 ang uu1*  
           us do NEG just MOD PL  
           Let's not do it!
- c. *i kal1 te? ang2*  
           us go IMP MOD  
           Let's go (it's time) !

- d. *kal1 ang2 mhiang3*  
 go MOD sure  
 Let us go then (if you want to)!
- e. *kal1 ang2*  
 go MOD  
 Let's go (now)!

### 3.9 Performatives

These are as follows.

- (69) a. *ka1 nei a1-ce1*  
 INOM marry PERFM  
 I now marry you.
- b. *ka1 fak a1-ce1*  
 INOM praise PERFM  
 I praise you now.

Some speakers combine performatives with adjectives or adverbial particles to express their annoyance or pleasure. Depending on the modifier that the speaker uses, this type of statement can have the force of an expletive. Thus, many people use it negatively to insult someone else. The positive form is generally reserved for small children, and this is equivalent to the expression in English, 'How cute'!

The following are some examples of negative usage. Some of the expressions are difficult to translate into English.

- (70) a. *teʔ-rok1 a1-ce1*  
 impertinent PERFM  
 How presumptuous of you!
- b. *tei3-vet1 a1-ce1*  
 persistent PERFM  
 You are such a nuisance!

Similarly, one can also express pleasure, as in:

- (71) a. *teʔ-reuʔ1 a1-ce1*  
 small PERFM  
 How cute (of you)!
- b. *liam1 liam1 a1-ce1*  
 talking in a cute way PERFM  
 You have a cute way of talking.



### 3.10 Conclusion

This section has examined the structure of simple sentences in Mizo. Transitive sentences are distinguished from intransitive sentences by the ergative-absolutive case markers in the NP and nominative-accusative clitics on the VP.

The two types of questions, wh-questions and yes-no questions, were also examined. These two types of questions have different constructions. Wh-questions have both the wh word and the question word in the NP, where the wh word replaces the head noun in the NP. In contrast, yes-no question words have the question word in the VP; yes-no question can also be stated in the negative. A further complication to the wh-question is the use of the Stem II verb form when the object is unknown. The only time a Stem I verb is used in a wh-question is when the object is known but the subject is not.

There are several types of imperatives, these along with optatives, hortatives and performatives have basically the same construction.

Much more work remains to be done on the syntax of complex sentences in Mizo. Hillard (1977) and Chhangte (1986) have considered the relative clause, and Chhangte (1986) has briefly discussed other clause types as well. Future work on Mizo syntax and phonology is planned by the author.

### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Most of the data for this paper comes from my own experience as a native speaker. The sociolinguistic data was gathered during my brief visit to Mizoram (September to November 1986). It is based on chapters 3 and 4 of my thesis, Chhangte (1986).

I am greatly indebted to the following for their contributions; I never would have finished the thesis without their guidance and encouragement. First, I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr J.A. Edmondson, chairman of the committee, for his enthusiastic help in all matters concerning the thesis, especially with the analysis and presentation of data; Dr Shin Ja Hwang for her thorough revisions and suggestions; and Dr D.A. Burquest for clarifying critical issues, especially those related to phonology.

I also would like to thank the 'honourable' committee members who spent a considerable amount of time critiquing my initial drafts: Dr F.K. Lehman (University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana) for supplying me with hard-to-locate reference materials and for giving me introductory lessons in Tibeto-Burman linguistics through personal communications; Dr K.J. Gregerson for helping me with the initial organisation of data and for introducing me to the typological features of South-east Asian languages.

I would also like to thank the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) for their financial sponsorship of this study. Moreover, I have benefitted greatly from the resource materials at the SIL library.

Finally, I would like to thank family and friends from Mizoram who patiently taught me all they knew about the language and culture, and corrected me when they thought it was necessary.

To all of the above I say, *ka lawm e (ka-loom e1)*, thank you.

- 2 See Chhangte (1986: 32-33) for details; briefly, [w] produced by intervocalic glide insertion is hardened to [v].
- 3 See Chhangte (1986: 49-50) for details; briefly, a rising tone becomes a low tone when followed by a high tone or a falling tone.
- 4 It is interesting that the first two names are also names of birds, an owl and a dove respectively. Their names are often used to frighten children.
- 5 Many Mizo verbs have two stems. Bright (1957) suggests that there is a regular phonological relationship between the two forms, but further data vitiates this suggestion. However, in most cases the two stems have the same initial and a similar vowel. For more details see section 2.5.4.3 and Chhangte (1986: 34ff).
- 6 See Chhangte (1986: 42-45) for details; briefly, the tone of a singular pronoun clitic dissimilates in pitch to the endpoint of the tone of the preceding word.
- 7 These are far less numerous than the verb pairs; for example see Chhangte (1986: 35).
- 8 I am indebted to Ken Gregerson for bringing this to my attention.
- 9 See Chhangte (1986: 31-32) for details; briefly, the final of the last syllable before a word boundary is geminated.
- 10 See Chhangte (1986: 38-99) for details; briefly, a contour tone is created when two syllables with different tones are reduced to one.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

|       |                         |      |                |
|-------|-------------------------|------|----------------|
| ABS   | absolutive              | EMP  | emphatic       |
| ACC   | accusative              | EMT  | endearment     |
| Adj   | adjective               | ERG  | ergative       |
| ADV   | adverb                  | EX   | exemplifier    |
| AGT   | agentiviser             | EXCL | exclamation    |
| ASP   | aspect                  | FSUF | female suffix  |
| Att   | attribute               | FP   | final particle |
| BEN   | benefactive             | FUT  | future         |
| CL    | classifier              | HORT | hortative      |
| CM    | case marker             | HRD  | hundred        |
| COMP  | complement              | IMM  | immediate      |
| COMPL | completive              | IMP  | imperative     |
| XM    | cross-modal conjunction | INT  | intensifier    |
| DECL  | declarative             | LOC  | locative       |
| DEG   | degree                  | MSUF | male suffix    |
| DPRO  | demonstrative pronoun   | MOD  | mode           |
| DET   | determiner              | N'   | N bar          |

|        |                    |                 |                           |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| N"     | N double bar       | RCP             | reciprocal                |
| NP     | noun phrase        | REF             | reflexive                 |
| NEG    | negation           | REL             | relativiser               |
| NLZ    | nominaliser        | S'              | S bar                     |
| NOM    | nominative         | II              | Stem II                   |
| NFP    | non-final particle | sm              | small                     |
| NUM    | numeral            | Subj            | subject                   |
| Obj    | object             | TB              | Tibeto-Burman             |
| OBLQ   | oblique            | TH              | thousand                  |
| OPT    | optative           | VP              | verb phrase               |
| PST    | past               | WH              | Wh-word                   |
| PERFM  | performative       | // //           | underlying segment        |
| PL/pl  | plural             | / /             | derived phonological form |
| P      | possessive pronoun | [ ]             | phonetic form             |
| PROG   | progressive        | #               | word boundary             |
| PROHIB | prohibitive        | e               | mid front lax vowel       |
| PRO    | pronoun            | o               | mid back vowel            |
| Q      | question word      | a               | low back vowel            |
| Ql     | qualifier          | r               | retroflex lateral         |
| QLP    | qualifier phrase   | tl              | lateral affricate         |
| Ql'    | Ql bar             | tr              | palato-alveolar stop      |
| Ql''   | Ql double bar      | ng              | velar nasal               |
| Qn     | quantifier         | ph, th, trh, kh | aspirated p, t, tr, k     |
| QnP    | quantifier phrase  | mh, nh, ngh     | voiceless m, n, ng        |
| Qn'    | Qn bar             | ɣh, rh, lh, tlh | voiceless ɾ, r, l, tl     |
| Qn''   | Qn double bar      |                 |                           |

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# HMONG AND AREAL SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Marybeth Clark

## 0. INTRODUCTION

### 0.1 Hmong language<sup>1</sup>

Hmong language (also known as Miao or Meo) belongs to the Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) language family. Wider genetic relationships are undetermined. The Hmong live in southern China and in the mountainous areas of northwest Viet Nam, Laos, northern Thailand and a small area of northeast Burma, with the greatest concentration in Guizhou province in China (almost three million, 1982 census (Schein 1986:77)).

The two major dialects of Laos and Thailand, and of refugees in the US, Australia, France and elsewhere, are White Hmong and Green Hmong,<sup>2</sup> the two dialects being very close. The dialect used in this paper is primarily but not exclusively that of Xieng Khouang (Laos) White Hmong.

### 0.2 Phonology and orthography

Lao Hmong phonology shares many features of the area: a system of tones developed in relation to devoicing and loss of consonants, aspirated-unaspirated contrasts in stops, back unrounded vowels, to name some. Hmong is also basically monosyllabic. Some features which seem not to fit so well into the immediate areal pattern are loss of all final consonants – even nasals – except velar nasal after some vowels, and a complex initial consonant system which includes post-velar stops, prenasalised stops, voiceless nasals (Jarkey hN in the orthography), and a set of laterally released consonants. There is some tone sandhi in Hmong. (For detailed discussion of Hmong phonology see Smalley 1976:87-109)

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David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11: *South-East Asian syntax*, 175-230. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989.

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In the 1950s a romanised orthography was developed by George Barney and William Smalley in cooperation with Yves Bertrais (Smalley 1976:87-88). Their orthography was in use in Laos prior to 1975, with some publications in the orthography, and is currently used in the US, France, Australia and probably other places for newsletters and other publications. This orthography uses VV for V ng or ŋ and final consonant symbols for tones, as follows (mainly from Smalley 1976:109):

|     |     |      |      |           |      |      |      |
|-----|-----|------|------|-----------|------|------|------|
| [ɓ] | [ɗ] | [ɗ̥] | [ɗ̥] | [ɗ̥]      | [ɗ̥] | [ɗ̥] | [ɗ̥] |
| -b  | -j  | -v   |      | -s        | -g   | -m   | -d   |
|     |     |      |      | (breathy) |      |      |      |

### 0.3 Language contacts

Hmong has had long intensive contact with Tai, Sino-Tibetan and Austroasiatic languages and shares many phonological and grammatical features of the area. Some of the areal phonological features are mentioned in the preceding section. I am going to discuss here some grammatical characteristics whose areal nature appears to be the result of such long intensive contact. I will also discuss three grammatical features in Hmong which have quite different characteristics from the general areal patterns: noun phrase animate possessors, source phrases, and a preverbal question word.

The phenomenon of linguistic areas – geographical areas whose languages share linguistic features through contact with each other – is well attested, most notably of course in Emeneau's 'India as a linguistic area' in 1956 and many others since. The validity of areal features in mainland South-East Asia can be seen when comparing the local Austroasiatic languages with the Munda Austroasiatic languages in India and the local Austronesian languages (not used in this paper) with the Pacific island Austronesian languages. The local languages are closer in grammatical structure to their neighbours than to their more geographically distant cousins.

Besides Hmong, I have used data from the following languages, as well as having looked at others. The abbreviations in brackets are those used for non-Hmong sentence examples.

Tai languages: Central (Bangkok) Thai, Black Tai [BlkT] (northeast Thailand up into southern China), Nung (the border of northeast Viet Nam and China) (and Lao in Section 7).

Sino-Tibetan: Standard (Mandarin) Chinese [Chi].

Austroasiatic: Vietnamese [Viet];

Mon-Khmer: Khmer [Khm] (and Mon in Section 7), Mountain Mon-Khmer of Viet Nam: Sre, Chrau [Chr], Sedang [Sdng] (and Jeh and Katu in Section 4 and Bahnar in Section 7).

Except for two Tibeto-Burman Yi (Lolo) languages used in Section 7, I have not dealt with the western Sino-Tibetan languages, with any of the western Tai languages, nor with the western or far southern Austroasiatic languages.



I have used standard *pinyin* for Chinese and standard Vietnamese orthography. For Thai and Lao, including cited sentences, I have used one of the standard romanisations throughout. The orthographies used for the other languages are those used in the references cited.

#### 0.4 Theoretical framework of discussion

Just briefly, to explain some of the terminology used in this paper, I will say something about the framework within which I will compare Hmong with the other languages. In general I will follow the notions of lexicase grammar as set forth by Stanley Starosta, particularly in his 1978, 1979, 1984a and 1984b papers. Starosta states that lexicase 'can be characterised as a non-transformational lexicalist dependency approach to case grammar' (1984b:121), in which a single grammatical representation for each sentence is generated directly out of the lexicon with no distinction between deep and surface structure. It is essentially a grammar of words (1984a:5), each one of which is marked with contextual features specifying its dependencies and possible associations with other words. Within a given sentence

every noun-centered constituent bears a single syntactic-semantic 'case relation' such as Agent, Patient, or Correspondent to the verb or other lexical item on which it depends (1984b:122).

This case relation is to be distinguished from the case form associated with every nominal constituent. There are simple case forms such as Nominative and Accusative and there are case forms represented as complex clusters of meaningful localistic features such as 'source', 'goal', etc.

Thus in addition to the usual function of signalling the presence of particular case relations in a sentence, case forms make an independent contribution to the total meaning of the sentence (1984b: 123).

Such complex case forms in the languages under discussion are frequently marked by prepositions or relator nouns (see Section 2.3).

The following case relations are posited in Starosta 1984a (19ff). (For detailed definitions see that source.)

Patient, Agent, Locus (inner and outer), Correspondent (inner and outer) and Means (inner and outer).

The inner-outer distinction relates to the Patient (Theme in some models) being the perceived central participant in a state or event, the inner case relation having only the Patient in its scope while the outer case relation has the entire state or action in its scope. An inner case relation therefore is a part of the matrix of the relevant class of verbs.

It is within this notion of case grammar that the following areal phenomena are discussed, i.e. a notion in which verbs are classified according to the case relations with which they may or must occur and every nominal constituent of a sentence has an associated case relation and a case

case form. In this framework it is unnecessary to posit different levels with ad hoc transformations, equi-NP deletions, etc.

## 1. BASIC SENTENCES

The sentence level characteristics discussed here are primary Subject-Verb-Object sentence order, the use of stative verbs for description, and the use of sentence-final particles. All these characteristics are well known to be common in the mainland South-East Asia area. Tibeto-Burman languages on the western fringes of this area have S-O-V order; the one Tibeto-Burman language having S-V-O order, Karen, lies on the eastern edge of this group next to Tai and Austroasiatic languages.

### 1.1 Subject-Verb-Object order

The primary sentence order in Hmong, as in the other languages of the immediate area, is Subject-Verb-Object (-inner Locus), inner Locus being the indirect object or locative inherent in the verb. Words are uninflected and basically monosyllabic with compounding.

Following are Hmong sentences with intransitive (Patient-subject) verbs:

- 1.1 *Tus me-nyuam quaj.*  
animate being child cry  
The child is crying.
- 1.2 *Kuv tuaj os.*  
I come Final Particle: Emphatic  
I've come (to visit you). (Said upon arriving at someone's house.)
- 1.3 *Yag-hmo nws mus lawm.*  
yesterday 3 Pers.Sg. go already  
She went yesterday already.

transitive verbs with Agent subjects:

- 1.4 *Tus dev tom tus npua.*  
anim. dog bite anim. pig  
The dog bit the pig.
- 1.5 *Yaj Ntsuab yuav Lis Tswb yim hli lawm.*  
Yang Joua get Lee Chue eight month already  
Joua Yang (girl) married Chue Lee eight months ago.

and transitive verbs with Correspondent subjects:

- 1.6 *Qhov-muag tsis pom kev.*  
eye not see way  
My eyes can't see to work (sew).

- 1.7 *Kuv muaj kwv-tij nyob rau Chicago.*  
 I have relatives stay at Chicago  
 I have relatives living in Chicago.

Note that 1.3 and 1.5 have time expressions. The location phrase *rau Chicago* in 1.7 has a Locus case relation with the verb *nyob*.

The Thai and Vietnamese sentences here each have both an intransitive verb with its Locus and a transitive verb.

- 1.8 *Khǎw pay talàat suu plaa maa.*  
 Thai 3P go market buy fish hither  
 She's going to the market to buy fish.

- 1.9 *Anh Mỹ này đến nhà, đánh đập người cha, người anh cô gái.*  
 Viet brother Amer. this arrive house beat person father person bro. girl  
 This American young man came to the house and beat up the girl's father and brother.

## 1.2 Stative verbs

Adjectival/descriptive words in mainland South-East Asia are stative verbs which need no other verb to form a grammatical sentence. In Hmong, stative verbs seem rarely to occur in cut-and-dried intransitive sentences, in which they describe the state of the Patient subject, without some kind of modification or intensification. I believe this is true of the other languages as well. Here are some Hmong examples.

- 1.10 *Tus ncej tsev lwj tas.* (PXNNH:33)  
 stick post house be rotten finished  
 The house posts are all rotten.
- 1.11 *Peb twb mus tau neesnkaum kislaus thiab sawvdaws nkees heev.*  
 we already go get twenty kilometre and everybody be tired very much  
 We've gone twenty kilometres and we're all very tired.
- 1.12 *Aub! qhov no qab kawg!*  
 oh! substance this be delicious very much  
 Oh! This dish is delicious!
- 1.13 *Nqaij npuas qab dua nqaij nyug.* (PXNNH:40)  
 flesh pig delicious surpassing flesh cow  
 Pork tastes better than beef.
- 1.14 *Kuv tus kwv siab txij (li) kuv.*  
 I anim. young bro. be high reaching as I  
 My brother is as tall as I am.

Stative verbs in Hmong can be intensified by following adverbs meaning 'very much', as above, or by reduplication, in which the duplicated syllable is accompanied by an extremely high sustained tone.

- 1.15 *Peb los nyob tim no mas no nō̃ kawg!*  
 we come stay place across this and then cold cold! very much  
 We've come over here to live and it's very very cold!
- 1.16 *Tus poj Hmoob Dawb tus ntiag tsho xiav xī'a li.*  
 anim. female Hmong white strip front jacket blue blue! so  
 That White Hmong woman's jacket trim is very very blue.

Some stative verbs in Vietnamese and Khmer:

- 1.17 *Ở Sài Gòn chị vẫn khỏe mạnh chứ?*  
 Viet at Saigon sister still be healthy sure  
 (While) in Saigon surely you've been well?
- 1.18 *Kruoc nih thom haay lqaa phaay.* (Huffman 1970:44)  
 Khm orange this be large already be pretty also  
 These oranges are large, and pretty too.

Some stative verbs tend to occur with relevant body parts, suggesting a sort of inalienable location. (For fuller discussion of this areal phenomenon see Clark forthcoming.) The reduplicated statives in 1.22 and 1.23 may occur with the high sustained tone if the speaker wishes to exaggerate the intensity.

- 1.19 *Kuv zoo siab kawg.*  
 I good liver - place of feeling and thinking very much  
 I'm very happy.
- 1.20 *Tus ntawd ruam ncauj tsis ruam siab.* (Bertrais 1979:372)  
 anim. that one dumb mouth not dumb liver  
 That person is mute not dumb in the head (stupid).
- 1.21 *Koj mob plab los hov ntev lawm?*  
 you sick stomach so then how much long already  
 How long have you been sick?
- 1.22 *Kuv tus menyuam tseem mob mob taubhau, tseem tsis zoo li.*  
 I anim. child still sick sick head still not good so  
 My child is still very sick, she's still not recovered.
- 1.23 *Zuag, es kuv paub hais tias nyuab nyuab koj siab kawg li nawb.*  
 Youa and so I know say that troubled troubled you liver much so sure  
 Youa, I know it is a great worry to you.

1.24 *Tôi đói bụng rồi.*  
 Viet I be hungry stomach already  
 I'm hungry already.

1.25 *Tú slư chéhp áhn tōng lái.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:71)  
 Nung Clsf tiger sore Clsf stomach very  
 The tiger was very sore in his stomach.

Note that the body part location in 1.23 is modified by a possessive pronoun and in 1.25 it is classified by a classifier noun, suggesting that these body locations are not incorporated in the stative verb.

A small set of stative verbs can produce derived adverbs, as noted in these Hmong, Khmer and Vietnamese sentences.

1.26a *Txoj kev no deb dua txoj tod.* (Bertrais 1979:41)  
 length way this V: be distant surpassing length that over there  
 This road is farther than that one.

b. *Peb nyob deb lawm.*  
 we stay A: distantly already  
 We live far away.

1.27 *Kuv to-taub zoo kawg.*  
 I understand A: well very much  
 I understand very well. (See verb *zoo* in 1.19.)

1.28a *Srəy nuh lqaa (nah).* (Huffman 1970:56)  
 Khm girl that V: be pretty very  
 That girl is (very) pretty.

b *Srəy nuh twəə-kaa lqaa.* (Huffman 1970:56)  
 girl that do work A:good  
 That girl works well.

1.29 *Chị Kim học giỏi lắm và anh Minh cũng giỏi.*  
 Viet sister Kim study A: well very and brother Minh also V: well  
 Kim is a good student and Minh is good too.

### 1.3 Sentence final particles

What I consider to be final particles are those expressive particles which occur at the end of sentences and which are not a part of the grammatical structure of the sentence. Thus I am using the term 'particle' in what I believe to be its true sense: a functionally undefined segment of speech. However, the particle adds semantic import to the sentence, and the selection of any one of these particles is determined by the semantic implications of the sentence itself and the speaker's intention regarding these implications. These particles are used to express respect,

gentle urging, surprise, expectation, emphasis, uncertainty, questioning, etc. Frequently they fulfill the same function as English tag questions. David Thomas (D.D.Thomas 1971:180) observes that these particles 'appear to occur only in direct address'. In general, they tend to make the statement or question of the sentence less abrupt.

The sentences in 1.2 and 1.23 above employ final particles, as do the sentences here. Note that a 'final' particle is stuck into the middle of 1.31 at the end of the main clause and before the time phrase, and that in 1.32 strong reassurance is given by using three particles. Vietnamese and Nung sentences with final particles are also shown; also see the Vietnamese sentence in 1.17 above.

- 1.30 *Kuv tsis hnov koj hais os.*  
 I not hear you say FP:Emphatic  
 I didn't hear what you said!
- 1.31 *Koj ua dabtsi lawm os ob peb hnub no na?*  
 you do what already Emphatic 2 3 day this FP:eh?  
 What have you been doing these few days?
- 1.32 *Thov koj zam txim rau kuv thiab nawb mog.*  
 request you pardon offense to I FP:also sure sure  
 Please forgive me!
- 1.33 *Ngày mai anh có đi không? Đi chứ.*  
 Viet tomorrow brother have go not go sure  
 Are you going tomorrow? Of course I'm going.
- 1.34 *Muhng páy hah páy lǎ.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:106)  
 Nung you go where go Emphatic  
 Wherever you are going, go!

## 2. THE NOUN PHRASE

### 2.1 Classifiers

Classifier nouns abound throughout mainland East and South-East Asia. They belong to a restrictive subset of bound nouns which serve to categorise, enumerate, specify and define other nouns. For example, noncategorical nouns cannot be enumerated directly, but only through a categorial noun, or 'classifier'. In Hmong, the classifier is usually the head of the noun phrase construction in which it occurs and precedes the noun which it categorises. Thus, the non-categorical noun serves as a modifier of the classifier noun.

As shown in 2.1 the noun *menyuam* 'child' cannot be directly enumerated. Instead it occurs as an attribute to its respective classifier noun *tus* 'animate being', which in turn can be enumerated.

- 2.1 *yim tus menyuam* \**yim menyuam*  
 eight animate being child eight child  
 eight children eight children

Classifiers are used extensively in Hmong to designate definiteness or specificity. (Jarkey n.d. has a detailed discussion of classifiers in Hmong.) In 2.2 both a specific dog and a specific pig are referred to and both nouns occur with the classifier *tus*. In 2.3 only the dog is specific while nonspecific 'pig' occurs without a classifier. Likewise in 2.4 and 2.5.

- 2.2 *Tus dev tom tus npua.*  
 anim. dog bite anim. pig  
 The dog bit the pig.
- 2.3 *ib tug dev tom npua* (tone change due to sandhi)  
 one anim. dog bite pig  
 a dog who bites pigs
- 2.4 *Tus poj Hmoob Dawb tus ntiag tsho xiav xī'a li.*  
 anim. female Hmong white strip front jacket blue blue! so  
 That White Hmong woman's jacket trim is very very blue.
- 2.5 *Pojniam Hmoob Ntsuab tus ntiag tsho muaj xim ntau ntau yam.*  
 woman Hmong green strip front jacket have colour much much sort  
 The jacket trim of Green Hmong women is many coloured.

Barz and Diller (1985:172) state that in mainland South-East Asia

classifier usage is probably most developed and most sensitive to language norms in modern standard (Bangkok) Thai, followed closely by Vietnamese. Standard forms of Lao and Burmese would follow along, and finally standard Malay and Khmer.

Their study does not include Hmong, but it is clear that Hmong fits easily into the middle of areal classifier usage, perhaps alongside Vietnamese.

In Table 2.1 some Hmong classifiers of high frequency use are compared with similar classifications in Thai and Vietnamese. Many of these listed here can occur as the only noun in the noun phrase. It should be understood that there is a great deal of overlap and variation in the meanings and selectional usage of these classifiers. In general, however, they all not only serve to classify other nouns but play a major role in specificity, anaphoric reference, enumeration and, in the case of Hmong, the specificity of animate possession (as shown in 2.4 and 2.5 above and to be discussed in the succeeding section). Three of the Hmong classifiers, *tus*, *lub* and *cov*, have very high frequency in general use. This is also true of *cái* and *con* in Vietnamese. Classifiers in Thai are so numerous and varied that what is listed here is merely a suggestion of some of the more general ones in the given categories.

Table 2.1 Some general classifiers in three languages

| CLASSIFICATION                                     | HMONG                             | THAI                                     | VIETNAMESE                                                               |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| animate being<br>non-human animal<br>human, person | <i>tus</i><br><br>( <i>leej</i> ) | <i>tua</i><br><i>khon</i>                | <i>con</i><br><br><i>người</i>                                           |
| group, bunch                                       | <i>cov</i> [±anim]<br><i>tej</i>  | <i>phưak</i>                             | <i>bọn, nhóm</i> people<br><i>bộ</i> set (thing)<br><i>đám</i> gathering |
| inanimate thing<br>(general classifier)            | <i>lub</i>                        | <i>an</i>                                | <i>cái</i>                                                               |
| stick-like thing<br>(rigid)                        | <i>tus</i>                        | <i>tôn</i> vertical<br><i>thêḡ</i>       | <i>cây</i>                                                               |
| strip (flexible)                                   | <i>tus</i>                        | <i>săay</i>                              | <i>con</i>                                                               |
| flat length                                        | <i>daim</i>                       | <i>phên</i> rigid sheet<br><i>phủuḡn</i> | <i>bức, tấm</i>                                                          |
| volume, book                                       | <i>phau</i>                       | <i>lêm</i>                               | <i>cuốn, quyển</i>                                                       |
| round object                                       | <i>lub</i>                        | <i>bay, lưuk</i>                         | <i>quả, trái</i>                                                         |
| kind, class, sort                                  | <i>yam</i>                        | <i>yàaḡ</i>                              | <i>thứ, loài</i>                                                         |

## 2.2 Noun phrase order and Hmong animate possessors

In his paper on classifiers in South-East Asia, Jones (1970:2-3) points out that the languages of South-East Asia and south China fall into two general groups with respect to word order in the noun phrase. The primary group, including Vietnamese, Hmong, Chinese and eastern Tai languages, has a numeral-classifier-noun pattern. The other group, including Khmer, Thai and Lao, and Burmese, has a noun-numeral-classifier pattern. The division appears to be a northeast-southwest areal one rather than a genetic one since representatives of Mon-Khmer, Tai and Sino-Tibetan fall into both groups.

In all these languages, except Modern Chinese, descriptive attributes — whether stative verbs, other verbs, nouns, prepositional phrases or relative clauses — follow the noun which they modify. This is illustrated by the Hmong sentence in 2.6, which has a relative clause *tom neeg* following the descriptive attribute *loj* which in turn follows the attributive noun *dev*, and the



Nung sentence in 2.7, where the descriptive attribute *lóng nhéht* modifies the classifier head noun which means 'animate being'.

2.6 *Muaj ib tug dev loj tom neeg.*

Hmg have one anim. dog large bite person

There's a large dog who bites people.

2.7 *Murhn áu tú lóng nhéht ma hěht mẹ.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:34)

Nung he take Clsf big most come make wife.

He married the biggest woman.

In Vietnamese, Thai and Mon-Khmer languages, possessor nouns or possessive noun phrases occur as descriptive attributes, following the head noun and other descriptive as well as restrictive attributes. This is illustrated by the Vietnamese phrases in 2.8; in 2.8b the quantity *hai* is restrictive and precedes the head noun. (See Thompson 1965:123 regarding descriptive and restrictive attribution.) Note that in Vietnamese, possession may also be mediated by the word 'belonging' (which I believe to be a noun rather than a preposition).

2.8a *(chiếc) xe (của) chồng chị tôi*

Viet vehicle vehicle belonging husband sister I

my sister's husband's car

b *hai chiếc xe của chồng chị tôi*

two vehicle vehicle belonging husband sister I

my sister's husband's two cars

In Hmong, however, animate noun-phrase possessors do not follow the pattern of descriptive attribution. They occur, like numerals, as restrictive attributes. They occur before the possessed head noun, at the beginning of the noun phrase, as shown in 2.9. Most noncategorical nouns cannot be directly possessed but must be possessed via their classifier nouns, thus asserting the specificity of possession. There seems to be no meaning distinction between *koj lub tsev* and *koj tsev*. (Possessors and classifier head nouns are in bold.)

|     |            |            |                   |            |             |             |            |             |
|-----|------------|------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| 2.9 | <b>nws</b> | <b>lub</b> | <i>hnab thoom</i> | <b>kuv</b> | <b>tus</b>  | <i>muam</i> | <b>peb</b> | <b>zog</b>  |
|     | 3P         | thing      | bag               | I          | anim. being | sister      | we         | village     |
|     |            | her/his    | bag               |            | my          | sister      |            | our village |

|          |            |            |             |           |            |             |
|----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| usually: | <b>koj</b> | <b>lub</b> | <i>tsev</i> | but also: | <b>koj</b> | <i>tsev</i> |
|          | you        | thing      | house       |           | you        | house       |
|          |            | your       | house       |           |            | your house  |

It seems that non-person animate possessors can precede or follow the possessed noun. However, there appears to be a qualitative difference in meaning, as indicated by the translations in 2.10, in which actual possession is expressed only when the possessor precedes the possessee. When the animal name occurs after the possessed item, it appears to be a qualification or modification of the item rather than possession per se.

- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 2.10 <i>dev tus kotw</i> | <i>nquab zes</i>       |
| dog stick tail           | dove nest              |
| the dog's tail           | the dove's nest        |
| <i>kotw dev</i>          | <i>(lub) zes nquab</i> |
| tail dog                 | thing nest dove        |
| dog tail                 | a dove('s) nest        |

Figure 2.2 gives sentence examples which show the relative noun phrase order in several South-East Asian languages. Note that eastern Tai Nung and Mon-Khmer Sre have the numeral-classifier-noun order, while their southwest cousins, Bangkok Thai and Khmer, have the noun-numeral-classifier order in these straightforward enumerated noun phrases.<sup>3</sup> The possessor phrase in Khmer and Thai may precede as well as follow the numeral-classifier phrase (Huffman 1973:493 and Tony Diller personal communication).

Hmong possession is further illustrated in 2.11, which has dual person possession. The possessor *kuv* 'I' occurs before its possessee *tus muam* 'sister animate being', which in turn occurs before its possessee *rab* 'tool', the head of the subject noun phrase.

- 2.11 *Kuv tus muam rab koob nyob pem rooj.*  
 I anim. sister tool needle be at top table  
 My sister's needle is on the table.

On the other hand, inanimate (and inalienable) 'possession', i.e. *pem rooj* 'the top of the table / the table's top' in 2.11, follows the same attribution pattern as *kotw dev* 'dog tail': possessee head noun – possessor attributive noun. It seems that, in Hmong, as opposed to the other languages in the area, there is a significant distinction between animate possession and inanimate attribution. This same sentence (2.11) in Vietnamese shows the difference in order of attributive possession:

- 2.12 *Cái kim (của) chị tôi ở trên bàn.*  
 Viet thing needle belonging sister I be at top table  
 My sister's needle is on the table.

The sentence in 2.13 has conjoined modified noun phrases, including animate possession (*Zuag, nws*), attribution and a relative clause (*uas yog ib puas tsibcaug duas*).

- 2.13 *Kuv xav rho Zuag peb lub hnab paj-ntaub dai nyiaj tawm thiab*  
 I want extract Youa 3 thing bag needle work hang silver out and  
*nws ib lub pajntaub tawmlaug xim ntsuab daj*  
 3P one thing needle work cross-stitch colour green yellow  
*uas yog ib puas tsibcaug duas.*  
 which be one 100 fifty dollar

I want to take out (from a collection) Youa's three silver-hanging bags and her yellow-green embroidery piece which is \$150.

Table 2.2 Noun phrase order in some South-East Asian languages

| Language                       | Possr Noun      | Num.             | Possee HEAD NOUN                          | Noun Attr          | (Noun Attr)                       | Sttv Attr            | Num.             | Clsfr Noun           | Det               | N. of Possn           | Possr Noun       | Det                  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <u>M-Y</u><br>Hmong            | <i>kuv</i><br>I | <i>peb</i><br>3  | <i>tug/tus</i><br>animate<br>Clsfr        | <i>dev</i><br>dog  | ( <i>xim</i> )<br>colour<br>(Lao) | <i>dub</i><br>black  |                  |                      |                   |                       |                  | <i>ntawd</i><br>that |
| <u>AA</u><br>Vietnamese        |                 | <i>ba</i><br>3   | <i>con</i><br>animate<br>Clsfr            | <i>chó</i><br>dog  | ( <i>màu</i> )<br>colour          | <i>đen</i><br>black  |                  |                      | <i>đó</i><br>that | <i>của</i><br>possn   | <i>tôi</i><br>I  |                      |
| M-K: Sre                       |                 | <i>pe</i><br>3   | <i>nəm</i><br>non-human<br>thing<br>Clsfr | <i>ʔasə</i><br>dog |                                   | <i>jùʔ</i><br>black  |                  |                      |                   |                       | <i>ʔaŋ</i><br>I  | <i>ne</i><br>that    |
| M-K: Khmer                     |                 |                  | <i>ckae</i><br>dog                        |                    | ( <i>pcə</i> )<br>colour          | <i>kmaw</i><br>black | <i>bəy</i><br>3  | ( <i>ə</i> )         |                   | <i>rəbəh</i><br>thing | <i>kñom</i><br>I | <i>nuh</i><br>that   |
| <u>Tai</u><br>Thai             |                 |                  | <i>mǎa</i><br>dog                         |                    |                                   | <i>dam</i><br>black  | <i>saam</i><br>3 | <i>tua</i><br>animal |                   | <i>khǎoŋ</i><br>thing | <i>phǎm</i><br>I | <i>nán</i><br>that   |
| Nung                           |                 | <i>slám</i><br>3 | <i>tú</i><br>animate<br>Clsfr             | <i>má</i><br>dog   |                                   | <i>đáhm</i><br>black |                  |                      |                   | <i>?</i>              | <i>cáu</i><br>I  | <i>tế</i><br>that    |
| those three black dogs of mine |                 |                  |                                           |                    |                                   |                      |                  |                      |                   |                       |                  |                      |

### 2.3 Relative location nouns

In most of the languages of South-East Asia there is a set of locative nouns which act as relator nouns (cf. Thompson 1965:200ff). A relator noun is a bound noun; it occurs as a head noun and requires another, attributive noun by which it is inalienably possessed. It is further restricted in that it never takes classifiers or enumerators, and when occurring with a Hmong possessive phrase it precedes the possessive phrase. The relator noun serves to specify the position in space of the attributive noun relative to the speaker or hearer and to the action or state of the verb, and frequently fulfills localistic requirements of prepositions and of locus verbs in much the same way that prepositions do. In fact, some analysts consider these words to be prepositions, and it is true that, as Nerida Jarkey suggests (personal communication), they share some characteristics of both nouns and prepositions, making it difficult to absolutely categorise them as either nouns or prepositions. Many of these words, however, can take demonstrative pronouns or determiners in the place of the attributive noun, for example 2.23 and 2.24 below. For this and other reasons I am here treating these words as nouns.

Table 2.3 shows some of the most common of these nouns in Hmong, Thai, Khmer and Vietnamese.

Table 2.3 Relative Location Nouns in Some SE Asian Languages

|       | place<br>inside | place<br>outside | top         | place<br>above | bottom       | place<br>below | front<br>before | place after,<br>behind | middle         | place at     |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Hmg   | <i>hauv</i>     | <i>nraum</i>     | <i>saum</i> | <i>pem</i>     | <i>qab</i>   | <i>nram</i>    | <i>(ntiag)</i>  | <i>(qab)</i>           | <i>nruab</i>   | <i>ntawm</i> |
| Thai  | <i>nay</i>      | <i>nōok</i>      | <i>bon</i>  | <i>nǎa</i>     | <i>lāaŋ</i>  | <i>tāy</i>     | <i>nāa</i>      | <i>lǎŋ</i>             | <i>klaaŋ</i>   | <i>thīi</i>  |
| Khmer | <i>knog</i>     | <i>kraw</i>      | <i>læə</i>  | <i>læə</i>     | <i>kraom</i> | <i>kraom</i>   | <i>muk</i>      | <i>kraoy</i>           | <i>kəndaal</i> |              |
| Vtn   | <i>trong</i>    | <i>ngoài</i>     | <i>trên</i> | <i>dưới</i>    | <i>dưới</i>  | <i>trước</i>   | <i>sau</i>      | <i>giữa</i>            | <i>(tận)</i>   |              |

Some sentences will exemplify the relator use of some of these location nouns. (Also see above: *tīm* 'place across' in 1.15, *pem* 'top' in 2.11 and Vietnamese *trên* 'top' in 2.12.)

2.14 *Nws cog zaub ntsuab rau hauv vaj lawm.*

Hmg 3P plant vegetable green to/at inside garden already  
She planted green leafy vegetables in her garden.

2.15 *Kñom caq mcul knog sac.*

Khmer I insert needle inside flesh  
I stuck a needle in her skin (for an injection).

2.16 *Kuv zaum (nyob) hauv av, koj zaum (nyob) saum rooj nawb.*  
 Hmg I sit at inside earth you sit at top bench sure  
 I'll sit on the floor and you sit on the bench, alright?

2.17 *Tôi ngồi (ở) dưới đất và chị ngồi trên ghế nhé.*  
 Viet I sit at below earth and sister sit top chair alright?  
 I'll sit on the floor and you sit on the chair, alright?

2.18 *Waanní nóg hòklóm bon kraday thii ta'laat.* (Kullavanijaya 1974:29)  
 Thai yesterday sister fall top stairs place at market  
 Yesterday at the market sister fell down on the steps.

2.19 *Nws tau tau mus nram Moos Loob lawm.*  
 Hmg 3P got got go place below Luang Prabang already  
 She's gone down to Luang Prabang many times.

2.20 *Nó thọc tay (vào) dưới chiếu tìm hộp nữ-trang.*  
 Viet 3P thrust hand into underneath mat seek box jewellery  
 He stuck his hand under the mat looking for the box of jewellery.

2.21 *Lawv tuaj rau ntawm qhov-chaws no lawm.*  
 Hmg they come to place at place this already  
 They've come to this address already.

The sentence in 2.22 employs a relator noun to mark an abstract location.

2.22 *Koj txhob poob-siab txog ntawm qhov no nawb.*  
 Hmg you don't be worried reaching to place of subject this sure  
 Don't worry about this matter, alright?

In Vietnamese and Hmong at least, these relative position nouns can occur with determiners or with deictic nouns, as in 2.23 and 2.24.

2.23 *Anh làm gì trên ấy?* (Nguyen V.K. 1967:910)  
 Viet older brother do what top that  
 What are you doing up there?

2.24 *Kuv muab ib lub me-me rau hauv no.*  
 Hmg I hand one thing small to inside this  
 I have enclosed a small piece here.

Most of these relative location nouns in Hmong have what I consider to be derived corresponding unbound nouns which occur alone or following other nouns and functioning as phrase-final deictic nouns or demonstrative pronouns. For most of these nouns a tone change occurs in the derivation; those nouns whose tone is low with final glottal stop (-m) – a large proportion of the relator nouns – undergo a change to low rising (and falling) tone in the unbound noun, as in *ntawd* in 2.25 (RN = relator noun, DN = deictic noun.).

- 2.25 *Ntawm* cov pajntaub uas koj xa tuaj rau kuv *ntawd*...  
 RN: the place at (re) group stitchery which you send hither to I DN: that one  
**Regarding** (RN: topic marker) **that** (DN) needle work which you sent here to me ...

In 2.26 *tom* is a relator noun specifying the non-locative *peb* 'we' as a place, while *tod* in 2.27 is a deictic noun.

- 2.26 *Nws* cov pa ncho tuaj txog *tom* *peb* thiab.  
 3P group gas smoke come reaching to place across we also  
 Its gas and smoke reached us, too.

- 2.27 *Nws* mus rau lub tsev *tod*.  
 3P go to thing house that across there  
 She went to that house over there.

The relator noun for time, as in 2.28, has a similar derived noun with the same tone change, as in 2.29.

- 2.28 *Nws* nrog Tooj tham *thaum* lub tsib hlis lawm.  
 3P with Tong chat the time at extent (Clsf) five month already  
 She talked with Tong in (at the time of) May.

- 2.29 *Peb* li yav hluas *thaud*, mas *peb* ... (Bertrais 1979:449)  
 we 's period of time young that time then then we  
 As for us, that time when we were young, we...

### 3. LOCUS VERBS, PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

#### 3.1 Synchronically derived prepositions

A common productive feature throughout the area is what is evidently the historical and synchronic derivation of prepositions from a certain class of verbs. These are verbs which have a distinct locus marking, and their derived prepositions mark on their nouns goal or location Locus (either inner: the Locus of the Patient, or outer: the location of the event as a whole) and in some cases Time case relations. The verb and preposition are homophonous, nearly synonymous and differ primarily in their grammatical functions in a sentence.<sup>4</sup>

The chart in Table 3.1 shows some of the source verbs and corresponding derived prepositions of several South-East Asian languages. All of the White Hmong derived prepositions are shown, but languages like Vietnamese and Thai have fuller sets than are shown here. The examples from the West African Benue-Kwa languages (from Ansre 1966 and Lord 1973) illustrate the typological nature of synchronically derived Locus prepositions.

The sentences in 3.1 compare the usage of a source verb and its derived preposition in Khmer, the a sentence containing the source locus verb: goal direction verb 'go to', and the b sentence containing the derived locus preposition 'to'.

3.1 a *Yəəŋ tiw srok Kmae khae kraoy.* (Ehrmann 1972:107)  
 Khm we go country Khmer month behind  
 We're *going to* Cambodia next month.

b *Yook qaywan nih tiw bəntup.* (Huffman 1970:138)  
 take thing this to room  
 Take these things *to* the room.

Despite Huffman's translation of *tiw* in 3.1b, one could argue for *tiw* being a verb in a serial verb construction, since the subject of *yook* is the transporting Agent of the Patient and could thus be considered in such an argument to be the subject of *tiw* in a serial verb construction; similarly in the Vietnamese sentence in 3.2b. However, it would be more difficult to argue for verbs in 3.2c and 3.3, where the corresponding prepositions, both derived from verbs meaning 'return to', mark abstract goals for a certain class of verbs. If in this case they can be considered prepositions, then it is simpler and less *ad hoc* to say that in a comparable function (3.1b and 3.2b) they are also prepositions.

3.2 a *Bao-giờ chị về Mỹ-tho, qua thăm em nghe.*  
 Viet when sister return My-tho cross over visit young sib. listen  
 When you *return to* My-tho come over and see me, all right?

b *Xin cho chim góp nhạc về trời.* (from Trinh-Cong-Son  
 request allow bird donate music back to sky song 'Xin Cho Tôi', 1966)  
 Please let the birds bring music *back to* the sky.

c *Ông ấy nói về hoàn-cảnh chính-trị tại Việt-Nam.*  
 Mr. that speak regarding situation politics at Viet Nam  
 He spoke *about* the political situation in Viet Nam.

3.3 *Mưhñ cəng m̄ cəu.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:90)  
 Nung 3P speak regarding I  
 He spoke *about* me.

The goal locus preposition 'reaching to, regarding', derived from the verb 'reach to, arrive at', can also in some languages mark abstract goals for a certain class of verbs:

3.4 a *Khoảng một giờ trưa tôi đến nhà chị.*  
 Viet about one hour noon I reach house sister  
 I'll *come to* your house about 1:00 in the afternoon.

b *Chúng tôi nhắc đến anh luôn.*  
 Plural I (Excl.) recall regarding brother often  
 We often speak *about* you.

3.5 a *...xa rau qhov no thiaj-li txog kuv.*  
 Hmg send to place this consequently reach I  
 Send it here and it will *reach* me.

Table 3.1 Some locus verbs and their synchronically derived prepositions in some South-East Asian languages

|                               | regarding<br>return → back to       | reach<br>to →                          | reach-<br>ing to              | (animate)<br>give to → to, for         | put<br>in/onto → to                                | at<br>be at →(in,on) | be<br>with → with |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <u>M-Y</u><br>Hmong           |                                     |                                        | regarding<br><i>txog txog</i> |                                        | <i>rau rau</i>                                     | <i>nyob nyob</i>     | <i>nrog nrog</i>  |
| <u>Tai</u><br>Thai            | <i>klàp klàp</i>                    | <i>thǎŋ thǎŋ</i>                       |                               | <i>hây hây</i>                         |                                                    | <i>yùu yùu</i>       |                   |
| BlkTai                        |                                     | <i>hət<sup>5</sup> hət<sup>5</sup></i> |                               | <i>hvu<sup>3</sup> hvu<sup>3</sup></i> | put into<br><i>svu<sup>2</sup> svm<sup>2</sup></i> | ?                    |                   |
| Nung                          | <i>mơ mơ</i>                        | ?                                      |                               | <i>hừ hừ</i>                           |                                                    | <i>dụ dụ</i>         |                   |
| <u>AA</u><br>Khmer            | go to<br><i>tɨw tɨw</i>             | <i>dal dal</i>                         |                               | <i>qaoy, cuun qaoy, cuun</i>           |                                                    | <i>niw niw</i>       |                   |
| Chrau                         | <i>sĩq sĩq</i>                      | <i>tât tât</i>                         |                               | <i>an an</i>                           |                                                    | <i>u u</i>           |                   |
| Vietn.                        | <i>về về</i>                        | <i>đến, tới đến, tới</i>               |                               | <i>cho cho</i>                         |                                                    | <i>ở ở</i>           |                   |
| <u>S-T</u><br>Chin.           |                                     | <i>dào dào</i>                         |                               | <i>gěi gěi</i>                         |                                                    | <i>zài zài</i>       |                   |
| Benue-<br>Kwa lgs<br>(W.Afr.) | go to → to<br><i>lō, kǎ, (dùo?)</i> |                                        |                               | <i>ná, fún, nò, piri</i>               |                                                    | <i>le, wə, yè</i>    | <i>kpèlú</i>      |



- b *Txhob poob-siab txog ntawm kuv cov khoom*  
 don't be worried regarding place of I group thing  
 Don't worry *about* my things.

3.6 a *Ôi ndau gěh K baw M tăt mọq ănh du mắt.* (D.M.Thomas  
 Chrau morning yesterday have K and M arrive visit I one time 1978:288)  
 Yesterday morning K. and M. *came* to visit me a bit.

- b *Nanh lawân cǎh tăt un cô.* (D.M.Thomas 1978:291)  
 we always remember to grandmother grandfather  
 We always remember *(to)* you.

Goal locative prepositions can also be used in time expressions, as in 3.7 for Hmong, Khmer and Sedang and 3.18a below for Vietnamese.

3.7 a *txij thaum ntawd los txog nimno ...* (Heimbach 1979:377)  
 Hmg since time that come/hither until now  
 from that time *until* now

b *Rədəw-kdaw kii pii khae-minaa tiw/rəhout dal khae-quhsəphiə.*  
 Khm hot season be from March to thru-out until May  
 The hot season lasts from March *to/up to* May. (Huffman 1970:116-7)

(*tiw* is derived from the verb 'to go' and *dal* from 'arrive at').

c *trôh hăi ki me* (Smith 1979:123)  
 Sdng towards day Rel. that  
*near* that day (*trôh* from the verb 'arrive, approach')

The transitive goal verb 'give' has an inherent benefactive feature. In many languages it has a derived preposition which can mark either goal Locus (inner) on animate nouns for a certain class of locus verbs or benefactive (outer Locus) on animate nouns for almost any verb, as shown in 3.8-3.10. If a Locus and a benefactive occur in the same sentence, as in 3.8c, the Locus occurs closer to the verb.

3.8 a *Chị ấy cho tôi một cái rồi.*  
 Viet sister that give I one thing already  
 She *gave* one to me already.

- b *Chị ấy sẽ trả-lời cho người đó trước.*  
 sister that will answer to person that before  
 She'll answer *(to)* that person first.

c *Anh Phong bán cho cô ấy một chục bánh ngọt cho tôi.*  
 brother Phong sell to Miss that one unit of ten cake sweet for I  
 Phong sold *(to)* her ten cakes *for* me.

3.9 a *Khǎw hây ɲən chǎn.*

Thai 3P give money I  
She *gave* me money.

b *Khǎw yìp khǒŋ hây chǎn.*

3P pick up thing for I  
She picked the thing up *for* me. (or possibly: 'picked up and gave to me.')

In the Chinese sentence in 3.10b, the prepositional phrase before a verb which does not take an animate goal is unambiguously benefactive, while the prepositional phrase before a locus verb (3.10c) has either a benefactive reading or a goal Locus reading. In Standard Chinese, prepositional phrases follow only locus verbs and are unambiguously Locus, as in 3.10d.

3.10a *Gāo Xiǎojie gěi tā qián.*

Chi Gao Miss give 3P money  
Miss Gao *gave* him money.

b *Tā gěi wǒ tiē - le hěnn duō yóupiào.*

3P for I stick on - Perf. very much stamp  
She stuck on a lot of stamps *for* me.

c *Tā gěi wǒ sòng xìn.*

3P for/to I send letter  
She sends letters *for/to* me.

d *Tā sòng xìn gěi wǒ.*

3P send letter to I  
She sends letters *to* me.

The Hmong locus verb *rau* 'put into/onto' (3.11) appears to have two derived prepositions. The most common one is a goal preposition meaning 'to' which marks spatial or animate goals for goal locus verbs and benefactive for most verbs, shown in 3.11 and 3.12.

3.11 *Ua ntej rau dej rau hauv lub lauj-kaub, npau lawm lauj.*

Hmg do first put water to inside thing pot boil already  
First *put* water *into* the pot and bring it to a boil.

3.12a *Hnub no nws tawm rau nram liaj lawm.*

day this 3P go out to place below paddy already  
She went (out and) down *to* the paddy field already today.

b *Es nws nqa mus rau kuv.*

and so 3P carry away to I  
And she brought it *to* me.

c *Kuv thov koj tuaj ua rau kuv.*

I request you come do for I  
Please do it *for* me.

The second *rau* occurs as a preposition marking location phrases and seeming to mean 'right at', as in 3.13.

- 3.13 *Kuv muab cov khoom no cia rau hauv koj tsev puas tau?*  
 I to hand group goods this keep right at inside you house whether able  
 Can I leave these with you to keep (for me) *in* your house?

As a main verb *rau* is fairly restricted and seems to reflect the general process of historical change from verb to preposition. It has an inherent feature of 'insertion' and occurs in sentences such as 3.11 and in the idiomatic expression 'put on shoes':

- 3.14 *Kuv tau rau khau.*  
 I got put on shoe  
 I have put on my shoes.

Black Tai appears to have an active synchronic derivation between the verb 'put into/onto' and the preposition 'into, onto':

- 3.15a *Hau<sup>4</sup> tsəŋ<sup>2</sup> svu<sup>2</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> vai<sup>6</sup> buən<sup>1</sup> nuŋ<sup>5</sup> buən<sup>1</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup>.* (Fippinger  
 BlkT we then put-into container leave month one month more 1975:154)  
 Then we put it in the storage jug and leave it for a month or more.
- b *Man<sup>4</sup> thim<sup>3</sup>pu<sup>5</sup> svu<sup>2</sup> nam<sup>6</sup> siə<sup>1</sup> bau<sup>2</sup> kin<sup>1</sup>.* (Fippinger 1975:144)  
 3P hurl into water become gone not eat  
 He hurled the fruit into the water without eating it.

Synchronic derivation of a location locus preposition from the location locus verb 'be at, stay' is found in most of the languages in the area; for example:

- 3.16a *Kuv niam tsis nyob hauv tsev.*  
 Hmg I mother not be at inside house  
 My mother *is* not *at* home.
- b *Nyob hauv lawv lub vaj muaj tsib tug npua.*  
 at inside they area garden have five animate pig  
 There are five pigs *in* their garden.
- 3.17a *Khǎw yaŋ yùu nay rooŋsǐi.*  
 Thai 3P stil be at inside mill  
 She's still *at* the mill.
- b *Arúnee tham-ŋaan yùu thîi Krunthêep.*  
 Arunee work at place at Bangkok  
 Arunee works *in* Bangkok.
- 3.18a *Tôi sẽ ở đó đến cuối năm.*  
 Viet I Future be at there reaching end year  
 I'll *be* there until the end of the year.

- b *Lan đẽ kẹo ở trên bàn.*  
 Lan place candy at top table  
 Lan put the candy *on* the table.

Another location locus verb in Hmong, the comitative verb *nrog* 'be with', has rather limited use as a verb; it is strictly locational and does not mean 'accompany', only 'be at some place with somebody', as in 3.19a. Its derived comitative preposition can occur, however, with verbs of locomotion, 3.19b, and verbs of action, 3.19c, and in addition occurs with the animate sources of certain transitive source verbs, as in 3.19d. As shown, the comitative phrase always occurs before the verb with which it has a comitative case relation.

- 3.19a *Koj nrog nraim peb.* (Bertrais 1979:232)  
 Hmg you be with steadfast we  
 Stay *with* us.
- b *Kuv yuav nrog nws mus.*  
 I want with 3P go  
 I want to go *with* her.
- c *Koj mus nrog kuv tus txiv noj mov*  
 you go with I anim. husband eat rice  
 You go eat *with* my husband.
- d *Kuv nrog koj txais peb duas nyiaj puas tau?*  
 I with you borrow three dollar money whether able  
 May I borrow three dollars from you?

### 3.2 Hmong source phrases

Hmong source phrases are distinct from the source phrases of other South-East Asian languages. In Hmong there is no preposition meaning 'from'. Spatial source phrases do not have a preposition and appear internally to be location phrases.

When source phrases occur with non-terminus goal verbs (e.g. 'go, come, return, descend, ascend, run, carry, send', etc.), they must be followed by another goal verb (3.20), a goal adverb (3.21a) or a goal prepositional phrase (3.22-23). 3.21b, c and d show that without the goal adverb following the locative phrase, the location phrase is marked as goal by the goal verb *nkag* 'crawl'. In 3.21b, which does not have a direction adverb, the preferred meaning is goal because of the marking on *nkag*; however it can also be location, but never source.

- 3.20 *Noog ya hauv av tshoom.*  
 bird fly inside earth take off  
 The bird flew up *from the ground*.
- 3.21a *Nws nkag hauv txaj mus.*  
 3P crawl inside bedroom away  
 He climbed *out of the bedroom* (through the window).

- b *Nws nkag hauv txaj.*  
 3P crawl inside bedroom  
 He went (off) / crawled *into the bedroom.* or  
 He crawled (around) *inside the bedroom.*  
 \*He crawled out of the bedroom
- c *Nws nkag mus hauv txaj.*  
 3P crawl away inside bedroom  
 He went (off)/crawled (there) *into the bedroom.*
- d *Nws nkag tuaj hauv taxj.*  
 3P crawl hither inside bedroom  
 He crawled (/entered) hither *into the bedroom.*
- 3.22 *Lub tsheb mus ntawm Moos Loob rau tom Xeev.*  
 thing vehicle go place at Luang Prabang to there Xieng Khouang  
 The bus goes *from Luang Prabang* over to Xieng Khouang.
- 3.23 *Lawv tshais yub txiv hauv vaj mus rau tom teb.*  
 they move seedling fruit inside garden away to there field  
 They're transplanting fruit seedlings *from the garden* to the orchard.

The words *mus* in 3.21a and c and *tuaj* in 3.21d are often translated as their source verbs 'go' and 'come', but that implies sequential or simultaneous action, whereas there is a single action here and the function is to indicate the direction of the motion verb *nkag* not to state an additional action. As an attribute to the main verb, its function is clearly that of an adverb. (See Section 3.3 for synchronic derivation of such adverbs.)

Source phrases with inherent source locus verbs do not require a following goal element since they acquire their source marking from the verb; compare 3.24 with 3.21 and 3.25 with 3.23.

- 3.24 *Nws dim hauv txaj lawm.*  
 3P escape inside bedroom already  
 He escaped *from the bedroom.*  
 \*He escaped (in)to the bedroom.
- 3.25 *Nws rho nroj nram vaj.*  
 3P extract weeds place below garden  
 She's weeding the garden (extracting weeds *from the garden*).

The transitive source verb *txais-tau* takes an animate source:

- 3.26 *Kuv txais-tau ib tsab ntauv ntawm kuv tus muam.*  
 I receive-get one message paper place at I anim. sister  
 I received a letter *from my sister.*

The animate source phrases of this class of transitive source verbs can be marked by the comitative preposition, as in 3.27. (For more detailed discussion of Hmong source phrases see Clark 1980a.)

- 3.27 Kuv **nrog** kuv **tus** **muam** txais-tau ib tsab ntawv.  
 I with I anim. sister receive one letter  
 I received a letter *from my sister*.

### 3.3 Synchronically derived adverbs

The same set of intransitive goal locus verbs which can produce prepositions is, on the whole, the same set which can produce adverbs which occur as attributes to locus verbs.

In the following examples, the a sentences give the intransitive locus verbs from which the locus adverbs in the b sentences are derived. The verbs in the b sentences are also inherent locus verbs whose local direction is made more specific by the attributive locus adverbs.

- 3.28a Tamsim no **peb** **mus** **pem** **roob** **tsis** **tau**.  
 Hmg moment this we go place above mountain not able  
 We can't go up to the mountains now.

- b Nws **nqa** **rab** **txuas** **mus** **lawm**.  
 3P carry tool brush knife away already  
 He *carried* the brush knife *away*.

- 3.29a Yog. **Naghmo** kuv **tus** **tub** **txog** **nram** **Moos Loob** **lawm**.  
 Hmg be yesterday I anim. son reach place below Luang Prabang already  
 Yes, my son *arrived* down at Luang Prabang yesterday.

- b Koj **tuaj** **txog** **tabsis** kuv **twb** **muab** **nyom** **txiav** **tag** **lawm**.  
 you come reaching but I already take grass cut finished already  
 You've *come* (finally *got here*) but I've already finished cutting the grass.

- 3.30a Chǎn **khəy** **maa** **thii-nii** **léew**.

Thai I used to come here already  
 I have *come* here before.

- b Khǎw **klàp** **maa** **léew**. Khǎw **klàp** **pay** **léew**.  
 3P return hither already 3P return away already  
 She *came back* already. She *went back* already. (V *pay* = 'go')

- 3.31a Kee **mook** **kənlaeŋ** **nih** **thə** **qay**? (Huffman 1970:229)

Khm 3P PL come place this do what  
 What have they *come* for?

- b Tuuk nuh **dək** **tnam** **mook** **pīi** **kəmpuəŋ-caam**. (Huffman 1970:183)  
 boat that carry tobacco hither from Kampong Cham  
 That boat is *bringing* tobacco from Kampong Cham.

- 3.32a Tōi sē **vè** Hué ăn Tết.

Viet I will return Hue eat festival  
 I'll *return* to Hue to celebrate the New Year.

- b *Lan mua một bưu-ảnh gửi về.*  
 Lan buy one postcard send back  
 Lan bought a picture postcard to *send back (home)*.

- 3.33a *Lan xuống nhà bếp nấu cơm.*  
 Viet Lan go down house kitchen cook rice  
 Lan *went down* to the kitchen to cook a meal.

- b *Mời cô ngồi xuống*  
 invite Miss sit down  
 Please, Miss, *sit down*.

In the Black Tai sentence in 3.34 the first  $\text{ʔ}\text{ə}^2$  appears to be an adverb while the second instance is clearly a verb. In hyphenating one gloss and not the other, it seems Fippinger himself (1975:153-4) wishes to make a distinction between the two.

- 3.34  $\text{ʔ}\text{ə}^2$  *sui*<sup>1</sup> *man*<sup>4</sup>  $\text{ʔ}\text{ə}^2$  *siə*<sup>1</sup>, *ha*<sup>4</sup> *man*<sup>4</sup> *kə*<sup>3</sup> *bau*<sup>2</sup>  $\text{ʔ}\text{ə}^2$ .  
 BlkT want push 3P go-out become-gone but 3P – not go out  
 He tried to *push* the child *off* his lap, but the child didn't *get off*.

The Hmong restricted transitive locus verb *rau* 'put into/onto', discussed above in Section 3.1, which has a very active corresponding derived locus preposition, also has an infrequently occurring corresponding locus adverb:

- 3.35 *No mam li npaus zaub rau.*  
 Hmg then break vegetable into  
 Then, *break* the vegetables *into* (it).

The Vietnamese transitive locus verb *cho* 'give', 3.36a, has a corresponding locus adverb, 3.36b, which has a definite benefactive meaning, in keeping with the features of the verb.

- 3.36a *Làm ơn cho tôi một cái đẹp hơn.*  
 Viet do favor give I one thing pretty be more  
 Please *give* me a prettier one.
- b *Để tôi viết cho.* (D.H.Nguyen 1966:68)  
 leave I write for  
 Let me *write* it *for* you.

## 4. SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVES

### 4.1 Causative verbs

A syntactic causative construction is one with a transitive verb, such as 'do', 'make', 'cause', 'allow', which has an animate (usually Agent) subject and an obligatory embedded sentence. The subject of the embedded sentence is coreferential with the semantic object of the causative verb and the whole has the meaning of that object being operated on with respect to the embedded verb. The English sentences

She **made** him cry.  
 He **caused** her to have an accident.  
 I'm going to **have** her repair this.

have causative verbs which take embedded sentences. Object marking on pronouns and the requirement of some causative verbs for non-finite verbs in their embedded sentences indicate that, in English, the semantic object of the causative verb is also its grammatical object and not grammatically part of the embedded sentence. However, until I find evidence to the contrary in South-East Asian languages, I will treat the semantic object of the causative verb as the grammatical subject of the embedded finite verb:

4.1 Kuv xav kom koj tuaj mus nrog peb noj peb-caug thiab.  
 Hmg I want cause you come away with we eat thirty also  
 I want to have you come eat the End-of-Year Festival with us.

#### 4.2 Mon-Khmer causative affixation

The English and Hmong sentences above are analytic constructions with simple causative verbs, that is, the verbs are without affixation or compounding. Syntactic (analytic) causatives appear to be spreading in mainland South-East Asia. Although most of the languages discussed here do not have affixes in their modern forms, there are presumed vestiges of affixation in many of the languages, and affixation, including causative affixes, has been common in Mon-Khmer languages. However, there is strong evidence throughout the area for a tendency to prefer syntactic rather than affixial means to express causation. It appears that affixation is no longer productive in some languages such as Khmer (Huffman 1970: 311) and Tibeto-Burman Sgaw Karen (Ratanakul 1981:156).<sup>5</sup>

Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of Viet Nam illustrate this tendency. Katu (Katuic, north central Viet Nam) has a very productive affix system, allowing even a double prefixal causative (Costello 1966:76):

4.2 Ku pa/ka - chet anuq.  
 Katu I Caus.- die dog  
 I cause the dog to die.

4.3 Ku pa - ka - chet mei anuq.  
 Katu I Caus.- Caus.- die you dog  
 I cause you to cause the dog to die.

In Chrau (Bahnaric, south central Viet Nam) 'the use of affixes is fast dying out', with some roots and affixed forms being interchangeable. Both an affixial causative and a syntactic causative are in usage. The affixed form (4.4) is a direct causative and the unaffixed form (4.5), occurring with the verb 'make, cause', is an indirect causative (D.M.Thomas 1969:90-2).



4.4 *Von ta - tao con-se.*

Chr we Caus.- stand child  
We stand the child up.

4.5 *Von ôp con-se tao.*

Chr we cause child stand  
We make the child stand.

Jeh (Bahnaric, mid-central Viet Nam) requires a causative verb 'do, make, cause' and a preposition with the recipient of the causative action, sometimes has an optional causative prefix and often has a resultative phrase, as in 4.6. However, the entirely syntactic causative sentence in 4.7 is preferred to the affixed causative (Gradin 1970: 16-17); note the result complement marker in the embedded sentence.

4.6 *Ĕn pĩ (pa-)kachièt lòi* ĩn, ĩn jeng *kachièt.* (Gradin 1970:15)

Jeh 3P do Caus.- die to (detrimental) 3P 3P become die  
(No complete translation)

4.7 *Ĕn pĩ dòh au la nham.* (Gradin 1970: 17)

Jeh 3P make for I Result cry

Sedang (close to Jeh) also has both prefixal and syntactic causatives:

4.8 *Kodrai m̥ - dot chu.* (Smith 1979:148)

Sdng woman Caus.- stop? (Intrans.) pig  
The woman stops the pig.

4.9 *Á pro eh lém.* (Smith 1979:113)

Sdng I do you beautiful?  
I'll make you good.

In addition to active or vestigial causative prefixes and the causative verb 'make, do', Mon-Khmer languages also have a syntactic causative construction using the verb 'give', meaning 'A let B do something', often with a benefactive connotation:

4.10 *U heq vu an ĩnh gũq sim̥ b̥ây S b̥ây cô C.*

Chr at here people let I stay same with S and grandfather C  
They let me stay together with S. and Mr. C. (D.M.Thomas 1978:289)

Of Khmer, Huffman (1970:311) states that there are a large number of affixed words but that these affixes are 'frozen' - verbal affixation is no longer productive in the modern language. He gives (312-315) the causative affixes and some of the derived words; following are some examples.

|      |                |                       |   |              |              |
|------|----------------|-----------------------|---|--------------|--------------|
| p-   | <i>pkaət</i>   | create, cause         | ← | <i>kaət</i>  | be born      |
| baN- | <i>baŋkaət</i> | create, give birth to | ← | <i>kaət</i>  | be born      |
|      | <i>baŋriən</i> | teach, cause to learn | ← | <i>riən</i>  | study, learn |
| -Vm- | <i>samlap</i>  | kill                  | ← | <i>slap</i>  | die          |
|      | <i>tumlěəq</i> | fell, overthrow       | ← | <i>tlěəq</i> | fall         |

In Khmer syntactic causative constructions, the causative verb frequently occurs with the verb/preposition *qaoy* 'give; to,for', as in 4.11 and 4.12. The causative verb can itself be *qaoy*, as in 4.13.

- 4.11 ..., *qaac bāndaal qaoy slap kamiən*. (Huffman 1970:292)

Khm have ability cause, lead to for/to/give? die be possible  
It can even cause death (can lead to causing to die, it does happen).

- 4.12 *Hael-tik twəə qaoy kñom kliən baay nah!* (Huffman 1970:203)

Khm swim water make for/to I hungry for rice very much  
Swimming really makes me hungry!

- 4.13 *Něəq-naa miən rook-claəŋ kee qaoy tiw deik tae məněəq qaəŋ*.

Khm who have contagious disease they give go sleep by oneself  
Whoever has a contagious disease they put in isolation. (Huffman 1970:293)

### 4.3 South-East Asian syntactic causatives

The modern languages of Vietnamese, Chinese, Hmong and Tai have no verbal affixation. All causatives are what may be considered syntactic causatives. As in Khmer syntactic causatives, Thai and Vietnamese also use 'do for' and 'give' in causative expressions, sometimes the embedded sentences being introduced by prepositions:

- 4.14 *Pùk tham hāy Dəəŋ ramkhaan*. (Kullavanijaya 1974:315)

Thai Pook make (for) Dang irritated  
Pook made Dang feel irritated.

- 4.15 *Dəəŋ ca? rák Pùk hāy klúmcaŋ thammay?* (Kullavanijaya 1974:271)

Thai Dang will love Pook cause worry why  
Why does Dang make himself restless by loving Pook?

- 4.16 *Nó làm cho ba má lo nghĩ nhiều*.

Viet 3P(Inferior) do for father mother worry think be much  
He worries his parents very much.

- 4.17 *Ngày mai anh cho tôi nghỉ làm nhé!*

Viet day tomorrow brother give I rest to work alright?  
Let me take off from work tomorrow, alright?

The Tai Nung sentence in 4.18 uses a causative verb. Saul and Wilson's glosses imply that *ma* 'come' is the embedded verb. I suspect rather that *lohng* 'go down' is the embedded verb and *ma* is the derived directional adverb 'hither'. Such an analysis is more consistent with the usual word order patterns.

- 4.18 *Lēo mē fā chihng páht óhng cūhn té lohng ma*. (Saul and Wilson

Nung then Clsf sky then force Clsf. person that down come 1980:110)  
Then the sky forced him to come down.

The following Hmong sentences are examples with some causative verbs. Jaisser (1984:48ff and 1986:250-257) would claim that the *kom* in such sentences as 4.20, where it is not the first verb, is not a verb but a 'complementiser'. I do not recognise complementisers as a word class; complementisers may be nouns, verbs, prepositions or perhaps conjunctions. However, Jaisser could be correct in claiming that *kom* in certain structures is not a verb, although her tests for verbness discount the possibility of non-finite verbs. It may turn out in these cases that *kom* is a conjunction or a preposition which requires an embedded sentence instead of a noun phrase, in either case derived from verb *kom*. For now, I am treating all occurrences as though *kom* were the verb 'cause'.

- 4.19 *Lawv kom kuv mus kawm ntawv, kom kuv hais tau lus Askiv.*  
 they cause I go study book cause I speak able word English  
 They make me go to school so that I'll be able to speak English.

- 4.20 *Kuv zoo-siab kom koj muab tso li ntawd saib puas yuav muaj neeg...*  
 I happy cause you take put as that see whether will have person  
 I'm happy to have you put it (the price) at that and see if someone

In 4.21 *kom* has an embedded stative verb and this is a causative-resultative clause.

- 4.21 *Koj ho pab kuv muag kom tag nawb.*  
 you then help I sell cause finished sure  
 You please help me by selling all of them.

Compare 4.20 above with 4.22, which has the causative verb *cia* 'allow'. The transitive locus verbs *pub* 'give (for free, as a gift)' and *muab* 'give, hand to, take' can also be used as causatives meaning 'to allow'.

- 4.22 *Kuv zoo-siab cia koj hloov raws li kuv hais ped.*  
 I happy allow you change according as I say there above  
 I'm happy to have you change it as I said above. (in a letter)

- 4.23 *Nws txiv tsis pub/muab nws mus.*  
 3P male not give 3P go  
 Her father won't let her go.

- 4.24 *Sau ntawv mus pub rau kuv paub thiab.*  
 write paper away give for I know also  
 Write a letter here to let me know.

In 4.24 *pub* can be replaced by the 'fringe' causatives *hais* 'say', *qhia* 'tell', and *teb* 'answer', or one can say simply *sau rau kuv paub* 'write for I know', which may be considered to be a causative prepositional phrase. The verb *thov* 'request' as a simple transitive verb is a source verb which takes an animate source. It more commonly occurs as a weak-force causative verb:

- 4.25 *(Kuv) thov koj txhob xa paj-ntaub tuaj ntxiv lawm.*  
 I request you don't send needlework hither add to already  
 {Please don't/I ask you not to} send any more needlework.

## 5. SERIAL VERBS

Serial verbs in the languages of South-East Asia are referred to in many papers and are discussed specifically in Li and Thompson 1973 for Chinese, in Filbeck 1975 for Thai and in Owensby 1986 for Hmong. (Also see Ratanakul 1981 (Karen).) I am going to confine my discussion of serial verbs to those serialised verbs sharing a single grammatical subject and indicating simultaneous or immediate consecutive action or state. I do not agree with Fuller (1986: 261) that serialisation involves equi-NP deletion, i.e. the assumption of a deep NP (never actually occurring) which being identical with an actually occurring NP is deleted. Rather, I assume that most secondary verbs are non-finite, so do not share the same environment as finite verbs. I do not consider causative constructions as discussed in the preceding section to contain serial verbs, nor will I discuss sentences, as Filbeck (1975:120ff) does, where the second 'verb' could be analysed as an adverb or preposition (see Section 3 above), as in 5.1 and 5.2.

5.1 *Dèk tham dii.* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai child do good  
The child is behaving well.

5.2 *Sùk aw naŋsǎi maa bāan.* (Filbeck 1975:120)

Thai Sook take book come (hither(to)?) house  
Sook brought the book home.

In a sense, most serial verb sentences are ambiguous, as Li and Thompson (1973:98) illustrate:

5.3 *Nǐ gùì- xialai qǐu Zhāng-sān.*

Chi you kneel down beg Zhang-san

- a. You knelt down in order to beg Zhang-san. (Purpose)
- b. You knelt down and then begged Zhang-san. (Consecutive action)
- c. You knelt down begging Zhang-san. (Simultaneous action)
- d. You knelt down and begged Zhang-san. (Alternating action)

However I believe that, with the possible exception of purposive meaning, this is a matter of interpretive ambiguity not grammatical ambiguity.

I will show here that Hmong has the kind of serial verbs found in the Chinese sentence in 5.3 and in the Thai, Nung, Vietnamese and Khmer sentences following.

5.4 *Dèk wīŋ pay sǐi khanǒm.* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai child run go buy candy  
The child ran to buy candy.

5.5 *Dèk wīŋ klàp pay sǐi khanǒm.* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai child run return go buy candy  
The child returned running to buy candy.

Again Filbeck has analysed as a verb a word which may be possible to analyse as an adverb; that is, *klàp* might be the adverb 'back', in which case a more precise translation would be 'ran back to buy candy'. The same possibility applies for Khmer *mook* in 5.8, giving the meaning 'bring seedrice'.

5.6 *Vahng té chíhng khùhn pay kshn.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:108)

Nung boy that then ascend go eat  
The boy went up (the tree) to eat.

5.7 *Tôi rất hân-hạnh được gặp cô.*

Viet I very be honoured be able to meet Miss  
I'm very happy to meet you.

5.8 *Kee yook srəw-puuc mook saap knoŋ tnaal* (Huffman 1970:341)

Khm they take rice seed come sow inside seedbed  
They take seedrice and sow it in the nursery-plot.

Probably only certain stative verbs can serialise and in such cases it appears that the stative verb must be the first verb, as in the two first verbs in 5.7, and in 5.9 which has two sets of serial verbs. It may be that the last serial verb in 5.9 is a resultative verb giving the meaning '(your action) making (the sum) \$20'; in which case *ua* could not be considered to be a serial verb since it would not share a grammatical subject with *muab* and *tso*.

5.9 *Kuv zoo-siab cia neb muab tso ua neeskaum duas.*

Hmg I happy allow you<sup>2</sup> take put make twenty dollar  
I'll be happy for you to put it at \$20.

A common verb serialisation in the area is the use of a (sometimes instrumental) transitive verb meaning 'take' (in Khmer, Thai and Hmong) or the instrumental verb 'use' (in Vietnamese, Thai and Chinese) as the initial verb, with that verb's object occurring before the serialised verb(s). This is shown in 5.8-9 and 3.29b above and in 5.10-12.

5.10 *Nws muab dej txias ntxuav.*

Hmg 3P take water cold wash  
She washed (her face) with cold water.

5.11a *Sùk aw máy maa sâaŋ tó?* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai Sook take wood come build able  
Sook brought wood to build a table.

b *Phom chày mīit tāt yāa.* (David Bradley, pers.comm.)

I use knife cut grass  
I use a knife to cut the grass. / I cut the grass with a knife.

5.12 *Zhāng-sān yòng kuàizi chī-fān.* (Li and Thompson 1973:97)

Chi Zhang-san use chopsticks eat (rice)  
Zhang-san eats with chopsticks.

The following sentences are more examples of serial verbs in Hmong.

- 5.13 *Noog ya tsaws hauv av lawm.*  
bird fly land inside earth already  
The bird {flew to/landed on} the ground.
- 5.14 *Kuv rov-qab (xa /muab) rau koj.*  
I return send hand to you  
I'll return it to you.
- 5.15 *Thiab mus kawm ntawv tos txoj haujlwm ntawd.*  
and go study book wait length work that one  
And I go to school while I'm waiting for that job.
- 5.16 *Wb coj lub kaus kwv tiv tshav-ntuj.*  
we2 carry along thing umbrella shoulder carry avoid sunshine  
We took along an umbrella (by shoulder) to protect us from the sun.
- 5.17 *Nws mus coj pojniam tsis tsum.* (Bertrais 1979:475)  
3P go fetch wife not get  
He went without success to fetch a wife.

I will not discuss here verb series in which the first (main) verb is an 'auxiliary' verb since this is a general phenomenon rather than areal. In 5.18 both *tau* and *yuav* are auxiliary verbs. Also, it would seem that serialisation with the first verb being 'want', 'know', 'help', etc., is general rather than areal. In Hmong these verbs can serialise with each other, as in 5.19, but again this is perhaps not distinctive.

- 5.18 *Peb tau ncaim nej mus tau yuav muaj ib lub hlis no lawm.*  
we got separated youPL away got will have one extent month this already  
We've been separated from you one month already.
- 5.19 *Peb tsis paub pab muag paj-ntaub nawb.*  
we not know help sell needlework sure  
We don't know how to help sell needlework!

## 6. EXISTENTIAL AND POSSESSIVE SENTENCES

Many of the languages of China and South-East Asia share a characteristic way of handling existential and possessive constructions. What appears to be the same word, 'have', is used to state both the existence of something (somewhere) and the state of something being possessed by somebody/thing else. Although the two are phonologically identical and closely related semantically, they are separate lexical items with slightly different semantic values and distinct grammatical environments.

The possessive 'have' is a transitive verb whose grammatical subject is the possessor and whose grammatical object is the possessed entity, the entity whose existence in a state is being

described by the verb 'have' and therefore stands in a Patient case relation to the verb. The existential 'have' is a subjectless verb with a Patient grammatical object and a location Locus or a Time noun phrase implied or present in discourse if not present in the same sentence.

The following sentences illustrate the areal patterns of possessive constructions (6.1-5) and existential constructions (6.6-10) for Hmong, Thai, Khmer, Vietnamese and Chinese.

- 6.1 *Lis Maiv muaj Tooj Pov rab txuas.*  
Hmg Lee Mai have Tong Pao tool brush knife  
Mai Lee has Pao Tong's knife.
- 6.2 *Pùk mii nǒng sǒng khon.* (Kullavanijaya 1974:139)  
Thai Pook have sister two person  
Pook has two sisters.
- 6.3 *Kñom miən prədap krup baep.* (Huffman 1970:215)  
Khm I have tool every kind  
I have all kinds of tools.
- 6.4 *Mọi người đều có nhà ở.*  
Viet every person severally have house stay  
Everybody has a place to live.
- 6.5 *Tā yǒu sān ge hái zi.* (Li and Thompson 1981:510)  
Chi 3P have three Clsf. child  
S/He has three children.
- 6.6 *Nyob hauv lawv lub vaj muaj ib tug npua.*  
Hmg at inside they area garden have one anim. pig  
In their garden there's a pig.
- 6.7 *Mii naŋsǎi sǒng lēm bon tǒ?* (Kullavanijaya 1974:24)  
Thai have book two volume top table  
There are two books on the table.
- 6.8 *Niw psaa nih miən mənuh craən nah.* (Huffman 1970:54)  
Khm at market this have person be much very much  
There are a lot of people at this market.
- 6.9 *Có một vài vấn-đề khó.*  
Viet have one several topic difficult  
There are a few problems.
- 6.10 *(Zài) chōuti-li yǒu hěnn duō yóupiào.* (Li and Thompson 1981:510)  
Chi at drawer in have very much stamp  
There are lots of stamps in the drawer.

Two more possessive sentences in Hmong, one with a location Locus:

6.11 *Yog kuv muaj nyiag,... tabsis yog kuv tsis muaj nyiag xwb.*  
 Hmg be I have money but be I not have money only  
 If I had money... but the fact is I don't have any money at all.

6.12 *Nws muaj peb lub ntim hauv nws lub hnab-thoom.*  
 Hmg 3P have three thing bowl inside 3P thing shoulderbag  
 She has three bowls in her bag.

The possessor can be inanimate (according to my analysis (Clark 1982b)):

6.13 *Peb cov paj-ntaub uas xa tuaj no muaj peb tswv.*  
 Hmg we group needlework which send hither here have three owner  
 Our pieces of needlework sent herewith have three separate owners.

6.14 *Khàat mii nám.* (Kullavanijaya 1974:142)  
 Thai bottle have water  
 The bottle has water (in it).

6.15 *Nhà chúng tôi ở có máy lạnh.*  
 Viet house Plural I stay have machine cold  
 The house we live in has an air conditioner.

The sentence in 6.16 is a simple existential sentence while the sentences in 6.17 and 6.18 have a caseless existential 'have' which, instead of an object, has an embedded sentence. This 'have' states the existence of the action or state of the embedded verb - a characteristic feature of existential verbs (e.g. both *yog's* in 6.11).

6.16 *Tim ko tsis muaj cov Hmoob thiab Nplog.*  
 Hmg place across there not have group Hmong and Lao  
 Over there, there aren't any Hmong or Lao people.

6.17 *Tejzaum muaj tubsab nyiagib thawv paj-ntaub lawm.*  
 Hmg maybe have thief steal one box needlework already  
 Maybe a thief stole a box of needlework.

6.18 *Đặng gẽh vu lây hiếp ảnh gẽh.* (D.M.Thomas 1978:264)  
 Chrau not have body any persecute I able  
 There won't be anyone to persecute me.

## 7. YES-NO QUESTION SENTENCES

### 7.1 The alternative proposition pattern

Many of the languages of mainland South-East Asia share a similar device for asking yes-no questions, i.e. questions which request an affirmative or negative response rather than other information:



- 7.1 Is she going to Chiang-mai? (Yes, she is. or No, she isn't.)  
Do you have any rice? (Yes, I do. No, I don't.)

Such questions tend to take the form of alternative propositions. That is, the verb put into question is stated in a positive proposition and then is opposed by a negative proposition of the same verb. One type of yes-no question in Chinese is an explicit example of the notion of alternative propositions. The sentence in 7.2 has first a positive proposition of the verb 'want', followed by a negative proposition, 'not want', of the same verb. As shown, the appropriate answer to such a question is the affirmation or negation of the verb.

- 7.2 *Tā yào bu yào mǎi mǐ?* (*Tā*) yào (*mǎi*). (*Tā*) bu yào (*mǎi*).  
Chi 3P want not want buy rice 3P want buy 3P not want buy  
Does she want to buy rice? Yes, she does. No, she doesn't.

Christian Bauer (personal communication) says that it is possible to have a V-not-V question in the Mon language spoken in Thailand but not that spoken further west, in Burma – another indication of the areal nature of this pattern. He gives the example in 7.3, with the preverbal negative, but states that this V-not-V form is 'un-Mon' and is a recent grammatical loan. Since this question structure is also un-Tai, perhaps it is borrowed from Tibeto-Burman Yi neighbors to the north.

- 7.3 *Klɛŋ hù? klɛŋ?*  
Mon come Neg come  
Are you coming, or not?

This same form, V-not-V, is permissible in Hmong, as in 7.4. Again, the response is affirmation or negation of the verb in question. A northern Hmong language, eastern Guizhou Miao as cited in Wang 1985 (70), also makes use of the V-not-V pattern, as in 7.5, in which the 'want ... or not' is presumably implied by the locutionary force of the sentence final particle rather than by the V-not-V pattern (B. Hong-Fincher (pers.comm), from the Chinese translation).

- 7.4 *Koj mus tsis mus?* *Mus (nawb).* *Tsis mus.*  
Hmg you go not go go sure not go  
Are you going?

- 7.5 *Moŋ<sup>55</sup> moŋ<sup>11</sup> a<sup>55</sup> moŋ<sup>11</sup> nen<sup>35</sup>?*  
Miao you go not go SFP  
Do you want to go or not?

However, in Xieng Khouang White Hmong this form is not very common; there is a strong preference for making a more explicit alternation by separating the positive and negative propositions with the alternative (disjunctive) 'or', as in 7.6 and 7.7. Xieng Khouang speakers differ as to whether this is a particularly emphatic expression.

- 7.6 *Koj mus los tsis mus?*  
you go or not go  
Are you going (or not)?

- 7.7 *Neb kho tau lawm los tseem tsis tau (kho)?*  
 you2 repair able already or still not able repair  
 Have you two been able to repair it yet?

In fact, most of the languages in the area permit the use of a full explicit positive-negative alternation with the alternative 'or': V-or-not-V, where the verbs are identical, the 'or' is the customary 'or' in either-or questions and the 'not' is the customary negative used before the first verb in negative statements as in 7.8 (from PXNNH:37).

- 7.8 *Tus neeg pluag tsis muaj dabtsi noj tsis muaj dabtsi hnav.*  
 anim. person poor not have what eat not have what wear  
 Poor people have nothing to eat and nothing to wear.

Although in Hmong the full alternating pattern V-or-not-V is quite usual and may be without particular emphasis, in other languages such a pattern does have particular emphasis. Nevertheless, it is clear that this full pattern represents an areal pattern, and it has been suggested by T'sou (n.d.) and expanded as a hypothesis by myself (Clark 1985a), that this pattern is an underlying historical pattern with different parts of the pattern dropping out of use in different languages. The evidence presented here (and especially in Clark 1985a) gives strong support to this hypothesis.

An overall view of individual language use of this areal pattern is given in Table 7.1. XX marks the more dominant patterns for given languages. More data to illustrate the various patterns in different languages follows.

When the V-not form is used in Lao and Central (Bangkok) Thai the negative undergoes a tone change. In fact, the change has become lexicalised in Central Thai long enough for the two negatives – preverbal regular negative and postverbal question marker – to be written differently in the script in accordance with the difference in pronunciation (Tony Diller, pers. comm.). Examples in the Tai languages follow, with the straight negative sentences in a and the questions in b.

- 7.9 a *Kháw (ca) mây sǔu khâaw(-sǎan).* (Tony Diller,p.c.)  
 Thai 3P Future not buy rice milled rice  
 They're not going to buy rice.

- b *Kháw (ca) sǔu khâaw(-sǎan) máy?* (Tony Diller,p.c.)  
 3P Future buy rice not  
 Are they going to buy rice?

- 7.10a *Láaw bǔo si pay Lǔaṅ Phābaaṅ.*  
 Lao 3P not Future go Luang Prabang  
 She's not going to go to Luang Prabang.

- b *Láaw si pay Lǔaṅ Phābaaṅ bǔo?*  
 3P Future go Luang Prabang not  
 Is she going to go to Luang Prabang?

Table 7.1 Utilisation of the V-or-not-V question pattern

|     |            | V or not V | V not V | V or not | V not    | V or | V V |
|-----|------------|------------|---------|----------|----------|------|-----|
| Tai | Thai       | X          |         | X        | XX*      | XX   |     |
|     | Lao        | X          |         | ?        | XX*      |      |     |
|     | Black Tai  | ?          |         |          | XX       |      |     |
|     | Nung       |            |         | X        | XX       |      |     |
| AA  | Vietnamese | X          |         | X        | XX       |      |     |
|     | Khmer      | X          |         | X(Neg†)  | XX(Neg†) | XX   |     |
|     | Chrau      | ?          |         | X        | XX       |      |     |
| M-Y | Hmong      | XX         | X       |          |          | X    |     |
| S-T | St.Chinese | X          | XX      |          |          |      |     |
|     | Some T-B   | X          | XX      |          |          |      | X   |

\* tone difference in 'not'

† an irregular negative

7.11a ... *bau<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>4</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup> ka:<sup>4</sup> lyu<sup>1</sup>*  
 BlkTai not exist anything at all  
 There's nothing there at all.

(Fippinger 1975:151)

b *Hai<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>2</sup> he<sup>1</sup> bau<sup>2</sup> ?*  
 go cast net not  
 Have you gone fishing?

(Fippinger 1975:157)

7.12a *Cấu sàhm chông mi hăhn mưhn.*  
 Nung I also then not see 3P  
 I also didn't see him.

(Saul and Wilson 1980:47)

b *Pộ kẻ hểht áhn hơn mi?*  
 man old make Clsf house not  
 Is uncle building a house?

(Saul and Wilson 1980:116)

In addition to the regular negative (7.13), Vietnamese has another negative 'not yet' which functions in the same way as the regular negative, as in 7.14.

- 7.13 *Chị biết đường đó không?* *Biết.* *Không (biết).*  
 Viet sister know road that not know not know  
 Do you know that road? Yes, I know it. No, I don't (know it).

- 7.14a *Anh ấy đi chợ chưa về.*  
 Viet brother that go market not yet return  
 He went to the market and hasn't returned yet.

- b *Anh ấy đã về nhà chưa?* *Về rồi.* *Chưa (về).*  
 brother that Past return house not yet return already not yet return  
 Has he returned home yet? Yes, already. Not yet.

In Chau one of several postverbal question words is definitely a negative (also 6.18):

- 7.15a *Ảnh đang cònh gủq jỏq đông wỏq phũng ...* (D.M.Thomas 1978:291)  
 Chau I not want stay long more more fear  
 I don't want to stay any longer for fear ...

- b *Pôp oh lết camvũm ảnh nhai gal đặng?* (D.M.Thomas 1978:282)  
 sibling hear word I speak right not  
 Don't you think that's right (what I say)?

The V-not question form in Khmer is somewhat different in that the negative that occurs postverbally in yes-no questions never occurs before the verb. It does, however, occur in straightforward negative sentences, still after the verb and accompanying another negative which occurs before the verb. Huffman (1970:24) states that postverbal *tee* always has a negative connotation.

- 7.16a *Kñom mìn traw-kaa kafei tee* (Huffman 1970:23)  
 Khm I not want coffee Neg.  
 I don't want any coffee.

- b *Kñom kcay məkkuu mook baan tee?* (Huffman 1970:150)  
 I borrow one pair hither able Neg.  
 Could I borrow a pair?

According to T'sou (n.d.), at least two of the verb-final Tibeto-Burman languages have the V-or-not-V and the V-not-V patterns, as in 7.17 and 7.18, but what is especially interesting is that a yes-no question may be asked with only a duplication of the verb and no explicit expression of negation or alternation, shown in 7.19-20. All the Tibeto-Burman language examples are from T'sou n.d. and are Yi languages.

- 7.17 *Na dzu bu no ma bu?*  
 Nasu you eat full or Neg. full  
 Have you eaten fully or not?

- 7.18 *Na vi le ma le?*  
 Nasu you elder sister come Neg. come  
 Is your elder sister coming or not?

7.19 *A p'i na sa ti mu na na?*  
 Nasu mother-in-law you sweet fruit want want  
 Mother-in-law, would you like some sweet fruits?

7.20 *Na ce si so so?*  
 Sani you Chinese language learn learn  
 Are you learning Chinese?

Tag questions – questions in which the two verbs are different – follow the respective patterns of alternation for individual languages:  $V^1$ , *or-not*- $V^2$  for Hmong and  $V^1$ ,  $V^2$ -*not* for Vietnamese, Nung, and Khmer (and Chrau, 7.15b above). The tag verb is usually ‘able’ or ‘correct, true’.

7.21 *Kuv muab rau koj lawm los tsis tau?*  
 Hmg I hand to you already or not got (from ‘able’)  
 Did I give it to you already?

7.22 *Chị đọc bức thư này, được không?*  
 Viet sister read sheet letter this able not  
 Would you read this letter (please)?

(Without the pause (marked by the comma) this sentence would mean ‘Are you able to read this letter?’)

7.23 *Pộ kẻ héht áhn hơn sự mi?* (Saul and Wilson 1980:117)  
 Nung man old make Clsf. house true not  
 Uncle is making a house, isn't that true?

7.24 *Look miən baəŋ-pqoun buən nəəq, meen tee?* (Huffman 1970:120)  
 Khm Mr have siblings four person true Neg.  
 You have four brothers and sisters, right?

In Central Khmer, Central Thai, and at least southern Hmong, yes-no questions can use simply the alternative ‘or’ to suggest a negative proposition of the verb, with the particular emphasis indicated.

7.25 *Look tiw psaa rii?* (Huffman 1973:501)  
 Khm Mr go market or  
 Are you going to the market (or someplace else)?

7.26 *Kháw pay talàat rǔu?* (Tony Diller)  
 Thai 3P go market or  
 So they're going to the market, eh?

7.27 *Koj pub kuv xwb los?*  
 Hmg you give(as gift) I only or  
 Are you giving it just to me? / Are you giving it to me free?

In most Sino-Tibetan languages and the Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of Viet Nam, a typical yes-no question form is V-QuestionWord. In fact, this is the standard yes-no question form for Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages. There is some evidence to suggest that at least some of these question words are derived from negatives or possibly disjunctives.

## 7.2 Hmong preverbal question word

A yes-no question form most unusual in the area is the use of a question word preceding the verb which is being questioned. This form has high frequency in the White Hmong of Laos and occurs in at least two Mountain Mon-Khmer languages, Sedang and Bahnar. Smith (1979:107) gives (a)*hôm* as the regular question word for yes-no questions in Sedang. Interestingly, an affirmative answer is *hôm* 'yes'. The preverbal question word for Bahnar is *hăm* (Banker 1964:36,38).

- 7.28 *Eh a hôm hlo rotám me?* (Smith 1979:107)  
 Sdg you Ques. see boy that  
 Have you seen that boy?

Hmong *puas* 'whether' occurs only as a preverbal question word, never as a response, and appears not to be derivationally related to any other word or function. (Comparison with the Hmong dialects of Viet Nam and southwestern China may shed more light on this word.) In 7.29-30 the questions have the form Q-V; the same form is used in 7.31 as a tag question.

- 7.29 *Koj puas muaj ib daim duab muab rau kuv?*  
 Hmg you whether have one sheet picture hand to I  
 Do you have a picture you can give me?
- 7.30 *Tus txiv neeg ntawd nws puas haus yeeb?*  
 anim. male person that 3P whether imbibe opium  
 That man, does he smoke opium?
- 7.31 *Thov koj pab nqa los rau kuv, puas tau?*  
 request you help carry hither to I whether able  
 Please bring it to me, can you do that?

The Hmong preverbal question word sometimes occurs with the V-or-not-V pattern as Q-V-or-not-V, especially with the verb *tau* 'got, have been able to' (7.32). It can also occur in an indirect question, as in the second use in 7.33, where it is supplemented by V-or-not-V.

- 7.32 *Neb puas tau muag peb cov paj-ntaub tag (lawm) los tsis tau?*  
 you2 whether got sell we group needlework finished already or not able  
 Have you two been able to sell all our needlework (yet)?
- 7.33 *Koj puas paub puas yuav muaj neeg yuav los tsis muaj?*  
 you whether know whether will have person buy or not have  
 Do you know *whether* there will be anyone who will buy (it) or not?

## 8. SOME OTHER GRAMMATICAL AREAL FEATURES

There are other grammatical areal features of mainland South-East Asia, a few of which I will discuss briefly: four-syllable idiomatic descriptive expressions, a verb of acquisition used as perfective aspect marker, a 'quotative' word derived from a particular kind of verb and used with other verbs of the same class to introduce a proposition, a particular type of synchronic derivation of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, and noun phrase zero anaphora.

### 8.1 Four-syllable idiomatic expressions

An interesting feature of these monosyllabic languages is what are called four-syllable idiomatic expressions by Liem (1970) and in Hmong *lus ua txwm* 'couplets'.<sup>6</sup> Such expressions as a rule have parallel first and third syllables and parallel second and fourth syllables. The parallels are in terms of same grammatical class; in addition, the first and third syllables are sometimes identical while the second and fourth are nearly always different in some way, sometimes being simply euphonic, especially the fourth syllable. The tone relationships play an important role. The whole functions as a unit, frequently as a predicate but also as subject, object, manner complement, etc. (Liem 1970, P'an and Ts'ao 1972). Following are some examples.

8.1 a *kev ntsog kev ntsuag*  
Hmg way orphanhood way orphaned/widowed  
orphanhood, poverty, desolation

b *nram ntej nram ntxov*  
(place) below before below early  
previously

c *kav teb kav chaw*  
rule land rule place  
to rule a country

d *khwv iab khwv daw*  
toil bitter toil salty  
arduous toil

e *zoo xob zoo xu*  
good Euph good Euphonic syllable  
so very beautiful

(Strecker 1980b:1)

8.2 a *nup<sup>55</sup> nzaŋ<sup>55</sup> nup<sup>55</sup> nzaʊ<sup>12</sup>*  
Miao eat year eat year  
celebrate the New Year holidays

b *faŋ<sup>55</sup> nze<sup>55</sup> faŋ<sup>55</sup> me<sup>13</sup>*  
yellow ear yellow face  
be pale and thin

- 8.3 a *ăn dưa ăn muối* (Liem 1970:7)  
 Viet eat pickle eat salt  
 to have a poor man's diet, to be poor
- b *đi trưa về sớm* (Liem 1970:58)  
 go noon return early  
 to go in the afternoon and return in the early morning:  
 to go out often, to work hard
- 8.4 a *khon thâu khon kèe*  
 Thai person old person old  
 old person
- b *klay hữu klay taa*  
 be far ear be far eye  
 out of sight
- 8.5 a *pum dɤŋ pum yuəl*  
 Khm not know not understand  
 not to know
- b *dɤŋ tuk dɤŋ sok*  
 know suffering know happiness  
 to know the hardships of life (the ups and downs)

Some four-syllable expressions have different patterns, such as the second and third rhyming pattern, shown in these Thai expressions in which all the words of each expression are of the same grammatical class:

- 8.6 a *mũu hət pət kày*  
 Thai pork mushroom duck chicken  
 foodstuffs
- b *dìit sǐi tii pàw*  
 pluck rub beat blow  
 to play musical instruments
- c *yép pàk thàk rǎoy*  
 sew embroider knit, etc to thread  
 needlework

The use of such expressions in sentences is illustrated in 8.7, in which they are clearly idiomatic. In 8.7a the four-syllable expression replaces a subject noun phrase; in 8.7b it functions as the verb of the sentence.

- 8.7 a *Kev noj kev haus nyuaj heev.* (Mottin 1978:198)  
 Hmg way eat way drink be difficult very  
 Life is very difficult.



- b Anh ấy luôn bắt khoan bắt nhật (Long Nguyen)  
 Viet brother that always require slow require quick  
 He's always critical / fussy.

Tibetan, which in many respects does not fit into the southeast areal patterns, does have these four-syllable idiomatic expressions.<sup>7</sup> In the examples given in Hu 1986, the second and fourth syllables, rather than the first and third, are invariably identical. The Tibetan idioms appear to be used in sentences primarily as descriptive expressions.

## 8.2 Verb of acquisition and perfective aspect

All the languages seem to make parallel use of a verb of acquisition. As a single transitive verb it means 'get, acquire, have'. Preceding another verb or clause it has the meaning 'have the opportunity to, be able to, have the good fortune of' and following another verb it means 'able, have ability, willing (to do the action of the preceding verb)'. In Hmong it has an auxiliary function meaning 'got, Past'. In all languages it usually has a benefactive and perfective connotation, except that the Hmong simple Past is not especially benefactive. Some of these verbs are Vietnamese *được*, Thai *dây*, Khmer *baan*, and Hmong *tau* as shown here:

- 8.8 a Nws **tau** peb tug nyuj. (transitive verb)  
 Hmg 3P acquire three anim. cattle  
 He has three cows.
- b Yog peb **tau** nyob ua ke, mas peb **tau** sib tham. (benefactive with  
 be we get stay together then we get Recip. talk complement)  
 If we could live together then we could (often) talk together.
- c Wb **muag tau** ntxiv lawm. (secondary verb)  
 we2 sell able more already  
 We two were able to sell some more.
- d Koj **hais lus** Hmoob puas **tau**? (secondary verb)  
 you say word Hmong whether able  
 Can you speak Hmong language?
- e Nws **tau mus** nram Moos Loob. (auxiliary verb: Past)  
 3P got go place below Luang Prabang  
 She went to Luang Prabang.

This verb may also take a durative time phrase with perfective implications, the whole having a time case relation with a higher verb:

- 8.9 a Daim paj-ntaub no kuv xaws **tau ntev** lawm.  
 Hmg length needlework this I sew get long(time) already  
 It took me a long time to do this piece of needlework.

- b *Tôi ở đây được ba tháng rồi.*  
 Viet I stay here get three month already  
 I've been here three months already.
- c *Chị sẽ ở Huế được bao lâu?*  
 Viet sister Future at Hue get how long (time)  
 How long will you be in Hue?

### 8.3 Quotative word introducing a proposition

Another areal feature is what might be called a quotative word and what is basically or originally a verb meaning 'say' (e.g. 8.26b below).<sup>8</sup> In its quotative function it is analysed variously as a secondary verb, complementiser, preposition, conjunction, etc. It occurs after such verbs as 'say', 'tell', 'hear', 'call', 'think', 'hope', 'read' (and, in Hmong, 'be') and can be roughly translated into English as 'that'. It is always followed by a proposition. Examples are Thai *wâa*, Khmer *thaa*, Vietnamese *rằng*, and Hmong *tias* as shown in 8.10-11. Smalley (1976: 120-123) translates this word as *hais tias*... 'say saying...', *xav tias*... 'think thinking...', etc.

- 8.10 *Nws hais tias nws tsis kam nrog peb mus.*  
 Hmg 3P say that 3P not willing with we go  
 She said that she didn't want to go with us.
- 8.11 *Yog tias koj tsis muaj mov noj li lawm, ...* (Jaisser 1984:36)  
 Hmg be that you not have rice eat anymore  
 If you don't have any rice to eat anymore, ...

### 8.4 Transitive to intransitive lexical derivation

A common synchronic lexical derivation in the area is a transitive verb  $\rightarrow$  intransitive verb derivation in which the object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the intransitive verb in an ergative-type construction, as shown in these sentences. (For more detailed discussion of this derivation see Clark and Prasithrathsint 1985: 46-49.).

- 8.12a *Kuv xaws nws ncaj xwb.*  
 Hmg I sew 3P straight only  
 I just sewed it plain (nothing fancy).
- b *Nws xaws ncaj xwb.*  
 3P sew straight only  
 It has only been sewed straight (just ordinary).
- 8.13 *Daim paj-ntaub no muag lawm.*  
 Hmg length needlework this sell already  
 This piece of needlework has been sold already.

- 8.14 *Kày tua nán **lín** léew.* (Juntanamalaga and Diller 1983:1)  
 Thai chicken anim. that eat already  
 a. That chicken has already eaten.  
 b. (We,etc.) have already eaten that chicken. (The chicken has been eaten.)
- 8.15 *Phâa kooŋ nán **sák** léew.* (Clark and Prasithrathsint 1983:47)  
 Thai cloth heap that wash already  
 Those clothes have already been washed.
- 8.16 *Nhà đó **bán** rồi.*  
 Viet house that sell already  
 That house has been sold already.
- 8.17 *Chuyện này thường **nghe** ở Sài Gòn.*  
 Viet story this usual hear at Saigon  
 This story is usually heard in Saigon.

It is possible to consider this type of sentence to be a topicalised construction. If the preverbal noun phrase Patient is a topicalised grammatical object rather than a Patient subject, the verb may not be a derived intransitive verb at all but the transitive verb with topicalised object. In fact, in most of such sentences it is possible to insert an Agent or other grammatical subject before the verb, making topicalisation of the Patient quite explicit and implying, of course, anaphoric reference and possible contrast, as in 8.18-19. (It is quite likely that all these sentences having subjects or topics with inherently transitive verbs occur only in anaphoric or pragmatically deictic contexts.)

- 8.18 *Daim paj-ntaub no kuv (twb) muag lawm.*  
 Hmg length needlework this I already sell already  
 That piece of needlework I've sold already.
- 8.19 *Nhà đó tôi bán rồi.*  
 Viet house that I sell already  
 That house I've sold already.

In Thai what might be called a topic marker may occur (8.20a). Object topicalisation can be made explicit by inserting a subject before the verb, thus disambiguating the status of the verb. In 8.20b the expected Agent occurs as subject, showing the verb to be unambiguously transitive with a topicalised Patient. What is interesting is that a coreferential Patient may occur as subject of the verb, as in 8.20c., this sentence being particularly contrastive.

- 8.20a *Phâa kooŋ nán (nâ) **sák** léew.*  
 Thai cloth heap that Topic wash already  
 Those clothes (they) have already been washed.  
 Those clothes (someone) has washed already.

- b *Phâa koon nán (nâ) khăw sák léew.*  
 cloth heap that Topic 3P wash already  
 Those clothes she has washed already.
- c *Phâa koon nán (nâ) man sák léew.*  
 cloth heap that Topic it wash already  
 Those clothes, they have already been washed.

In the case of 8.20c, where the grammatical subject of the verb is coreferential with the topicalised noun phrase and is the semantic object of the action of the verb, the verb is clearly a derived intransitive verb in an ergative-type construction.

In Hmong and Vietnamese there appears not to be anything that can be called a topic marker per se. (However, see Fuller 1985 for topicaliser usage.) One way of topicalising the grammatical object is setting it off with a conjunction preceding the Agent in the case of Hmong (8.21) and preceding the verb in the case of Vietnamese (8.22), its main function being emphatic contrast and the verb of course being the underived transitive verb.

- 8.21 *Daim paj-ntaub no mas (kuv) muag lawm.*  
 Hmg length needlework this then I sell already  
 That piece of needlework, well I have sold it already.

- 8.22a *Còn nhà này (tôi) thì mua năm ngoái.*  
 Viet and as for house this I then buy year last (year)  
 But *this* house I bought last year.

- b ... *nhưng bài này (tôi) lại viết chậm.*  
 but written piece this I (come back) write slow  
 But this piece, on the other hand, I wrote slowly.

Thus, in sentences without any explicit marking, the grammatical status of the verb is ambiguous as to whether it is the inherent transitive verb or a derived intransitive verb. However, in all languages the unmarked reading of such an unmarked sentence has an intransitive verb. Further confirmation of intransitivity is given by Prasithrathsint (Clark and Prasithrathsint 1985:49):

- 8.23 *Phâa bép nĩ sák n̄ay.*  
 Thai cloth type this wash easy  
 This kind of cloth washes easily.

## 8.5 Noun phrase zero anaphora

Another characteristic quite common in the area, and shown here in Hmong and Vietnamese, is the omission of noun phrases where the noun phrase is specific and its identity is understood: discourse level zero anaphora (Fuller 1986:262ff for Hmong).

Within the lexicase framework it is unnecessary to posit different levels (i.e. deep and surface structures). Therefore the notion of equi-NP deletion – deletion of a coreferential NP believed to be in the deep structure but which does not occur on the surface – is meaningless. Fuller claims there is equi-NP deletion in the sentences in 8.24 (1985:79) and that they are examples of sentence-level zero anaphora (1986:261-262). However, all of the main verbs in Fuller's examples, such as *kam* 'consent, be willing to' and *sim* 'try to' in 8.24, belong to a semantic class of verbs having features which specify that the verb allows an embedded verb whose logical subject is coreferential with the subject of the main verb and may not occur.

- 8.24 a *Kim kam    ∅ qhia lus    Hmoob rau kuv.*  
 Kee consent    teach word Hmong to me  
 Kee consented to teach the Hmong language to me.
- b *Nws sim ∅ hais lus    Hmoob.*  
 s/he try    speak word Hmong  
 S/he tries to speak Hmong.

In fact, both sentences in 8.24 contain serial verbs, which by definition (Sec.5) have non-occurring coreferential subjects. I do not consider something which never occurs to be anaphoric deletion. Fuller herself does not suggest NP deletion in her discussion of serial verbs (1985:81).

As for actual zero anaphora of regularly occurring NP's, direct object omission is the most common occurrence, e.g. in Hmong:

- 8.25a *Kuv twb    rho    ∅ lawm.*  
 Hmg I    already extract    already  
 I got *it* out already.
- b *Kuv ua ∅ kaum ob xuab moos.*  
 I    do    ten    two hour  
 I made *it* in twelve hours. (It took me 12 hours to make *it*.)
- c *Nws muab dej    txias ntxuav ∅.*  
 3P take    water cold wash  
 He washed *it* in cold water.

Subject omission also occurs but seems to be liable to more constraints, occurring in imperative sentences, indirect speech and other specific circumstances, as in 8.26a-d. Regarding the reported speech in 8.26b the two omitted subject noun phrases would not occur in this sentence but in both cases either 'he' or 'I' is implied (Chu Lee, pers. comm.) (The speaker's next statement was, *Kuv mam pleev tshuav txhuam hniav rau nws* 'I then put on [the burn] toothpaste for him.') Also, the missing objects in both cases may not appear in any form in this structure, suggesting object-incorporated intransitive verbs: *ntxuaj dej* 'water wash' and *pleev tshuaj* 'medicine apply'.

8.26a ...ces  $\emptyset$  sau ntawv rau peb paub thiab mog.

so then write paper for we know also sure

So (you) write a letter to let us know, alright?

b Kuv thiab li tias  $\emptyset$  tsis ntxuav dej,  $\emptyset$  pleev tshuaj xwb.

I consequently say not wash water swab medicine only

So I said (he/I) not to wash it in water, (he/I) just put on medicine.

c  $\emptyset$  Sib ntsib dua.

Recip. meet more

We (Inclusive) will meet again. (a common farewell salutation)

(Subject designated by reciprocal marker)

d  $\emptyset$  Nco txog nej sawvdaws.

remember reaching youPl everyone

I think of you all. (in a letter)

Zero anaphora is, if anything, more common in Vietnamese than in Hmong. Object omission is of highest frequency but subject omission is also frequent in informal conversation and connected narrative:

8.27a Tôi mua  $\emptyset$  ở đường Lê Lợi.

Viet I buy at street Le Loi

I bought it in Le Loi Street.

b Anh ấy đã làm  $\emptyset$  chưa?  $\emptyset$  làm  $\emptyset$  rồi.

brother that Past do not yet do already

Has he done it yet? Yes, he's done it already.

c  $\emptyset$  có đi không?

have go not

Are you going?

Dạ,  $\emptyset$  không đi.

Response not go

No, I'm not going.

d Chị ấy giặt áo, rồi  $\emptyset$  đi phố mua đồ.

sister that wash blouse and then go streets buy thing

She washed the clothes then (she) went to town to shop.

More investigation needs to be done in order to determine if such a trait is truly a distinctive areal feature or simply a typological characteristic, – or perhaps even a universal tendency.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> This paper is an expansion and revision of Clark 1983, which was in turn drawn from earlier papers but with additional investigation. Both for this paper and the earlier paper I am greatly indebted to Tony Diller for many linguistic consultations, as well as for much Thai data. Naturally, he cannot be held to account for my analyses of the material we discussed. Credit for helpful consultation and the same reprieve go to Nguyen Long, Nerida Jarkey, Beverly Hong-Fincher, Christian Bauer, and many others most of whom have been acknowledged in earlier papers, but especially Ton-nu Kim-Chi of Honolulu, Pranee Kullavanijaya of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok and Saveros Pou of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris.

I am forever grateful to my many Hmong friends who have helped me through conversations, letters and elicited responses. Especially helpful have been my teacher Vangkoua Cheurtong and Neng Chue Yang, Tong Vang, Youa Vang, Sai Xiong, Youa Yang and, more currently, Chu Lee.

- <sup>2</sup> I use the term 'green' for Hmoob Ntsuab (Njua) rather than 'blue', as is used by some writers, for several reasons. The colour I have been shown for this word is a bright leaf-green colour. Unlike most of the languages in the area, Hmong has separate words for green and blue. (The word *xiav* 'blue' describes the bright blue trim on White Hmong jackets and the blue-gray indigo batik of Green Hmong skirts.) Father Bertrais, who lived among the Hmong of Laos for many years, uses the term 'green' (see especially Bertrais 1978), as do Jacques Lemoine (1972), Thomas Lyman (1979) and Jean Mottin (1978), all of whom lived among the Hmong in Laos or Thailand, and Yang Dao (1976). Finally, it is the term used by the Hmong (both White and Green) I have known in Hawaii and Australia.
- <sup>3</sup> The Sre sentence was taken from Manley 1972:156-157, the Khmer sentence culled from Huffman 1970 and 1973:493 and the Nung sentence from Saul and Wilson 1980.
- <sup>4</sup> For positive arguments discussing the validity of this derivation, see Clark 1978, 1979a and b. See Jarkey 1986 for more skeptical discussion and more precise testing and distinctions among such functions in Hmong. Many specialists in Thai do not agree that these are prepositions instead of verbs, but I have taken the liberty of using comparable Thai data because it fits so neatly into the areal pattern and because I feel confident that in this data these words do function as prepositions. The fact of historical and synchronic derivation is well documented for Standard Chinese, e.g. Li and Thompson 1974.
- <sup>5</sup> Also see Gradin 1970:16, Matisoff 1976:419, Smith 1979:147, D.D.Thomas 1971:152 D.M.Thomas 1969:90.
- <sup>6</sup> These idiomatic expressions are discussed for Hmong in Johns and Strecker 1982 (examples 8.1c and d, pp.160 and 162), Mottin 1978:198ff and P'an and Ts'ao 1972 (eastern Guishou Miao examples, pp.211 and 214). Also see Ratliff 1986. Hmong examples 8.1a and b are from Heimbach 1979:459. The Thai and Khmer examples are from Nacaskul 1976:881-888.

- <sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Tissa Rajapatirana for some clarification of the Hu data.
- <sup>8</sup> See Huffman 1970 for Khmer and 1973 for Thai and Khmer, Kullavanijaya 1974 for Thai, Thompson 1965 for Vietnamese, Jaisser 1984 for White Hmong and Lyman 1974 for Green Hmong.

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